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THE

# ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES AND PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.


BY MR. ROLLIN,

LATE PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS,

*&c. &c. &c.*


IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF

*PHILIP AND ALEXANDER.*

*THE NINTH EDITION.*

*ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS.*


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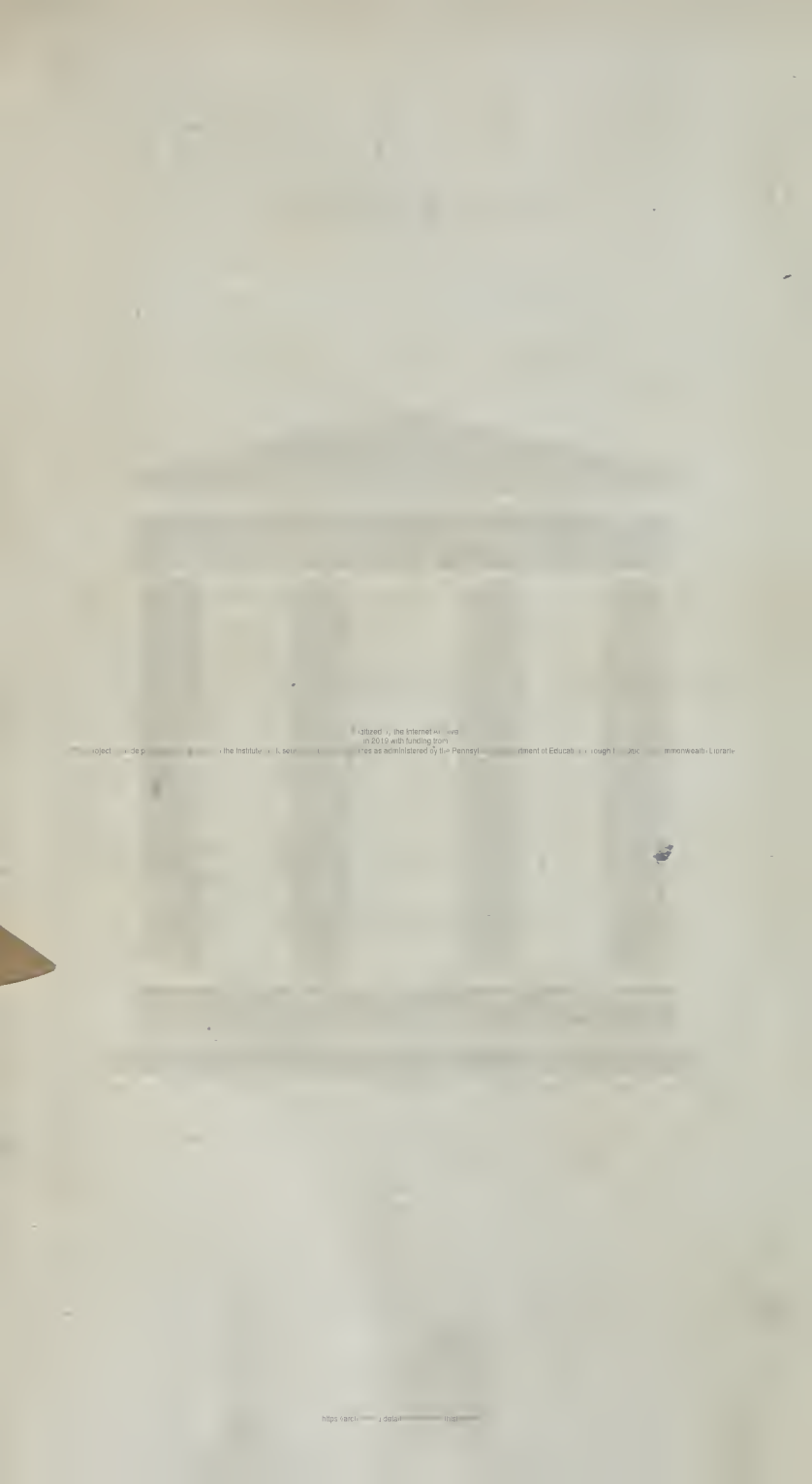

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# BOOK FOURTEENTH.

## THE HISTORY OF PHILIP.

### PLAN.

The reigns of Philip, king of Macedon, and Alexander, his ſon, contain the ſpace of 36 years; the reign of the former including 24, and that of the latter 12. They extend from the firſt year of the 105th Olympiad, or the year of the world 3644, to the firſt year of the 114th Olympiad, which anſwers to the year of the world 3680.

The kings who reigned during that time in Perſia were, Artaxerxes, Ochus, Arſes, and Darius Codomanus. The Perſian empire expired with the laſt.

We know not any thing concerning the tranſactions of the Jews during theſe 36 years, except what we are told by Joſephus, Book xi. chap. 7 and 8. of his Antiquities of the Jews, under the high-prieſts John, or Johanon, and Jaddus. Theſe will be mentioned in the courſe of this hiſtory, with which that of the Jews is intermixed.

The above-mentioned ſpace of 36 years, with reſpect to the Roman hiſtory, extends from the 393d to the 429th year from the foundation of Rome. The great men who made the moſt conſpicuous figure among the Romans during that ſpace of time, were Appius Claudius, the dictator, T. Quinctius Capitolinus, Tit. Manlius Torquatus, L. Papirius Curſor, M. Valerius Corvinus, Q. Fabius Maximus, and the two Decii, who devoted themſelves to death for the ſake of their country.

## SECTION I.

### THE BIRTH AND INFANCY OF PHILIP.—HIS FIRST CONQUESTS.—THE BIRTH OF ALEXANDER.

MACEDON was an hereditary kingdom, ſituated in ancient Thrace, and bounded on the ſouth by the mountains of Theſſaly; on the eaſt by Bœotia and Pieria, on the weſt by the Lynceſtes, and on the north by Mygdonia and Pelagonia; but after Philip had conquered part of Thrace

and Illyrium, this kingdom extended from the Adriatic Sea to the river Strymon. Edeſſa was at firſt the capital of it, but afterwards reſigned that honour to Pella, famous for giving birth to Philip and Alexander.

Philip, whoſe hiſtory we are going to write, was the ſon of Amyntas II. who is reckoned the 16th king of Macedon from Caranus, who had founded that kingdom about 430 years before, that is, Anno Mundi 3212, and before Chriſt 794. The hiſtory of all theſe monarchs is ſufficiently obſcure, and includes little more than ſeveral wars with the Illyrians, the Thracians, and other neighbouring people.

The kings of Macedon pretended to deſcend from Hercules, by Caranus, and conſequently to have been Greeks originally. Notwithſtanding this, Demoſthenes often ſtyles them barbarians, eſpecially in his invectives againſt Philip. The Greeks, indeed, gave this name to all other nations, without excepting the Macedonians. *Alexander, king of Macedon, in the reign of Xerxes, was excluded, upon pretence of his being a barbarian, from the Olympic games; and was not admitted to ſhare in them, till after having proved his being originally deſcended from Argos. †The above-mentioned Alexander, when he went over from the Perſian camp to that of the Greeks, in order to acquaint the latter that Mardonius was determined to charge them by ſurpriſe at day-break, juſtified his perfidy by his ancient deſcent, which he declared to be from the Greeks.

The ancient kings of Macedon did not think it beneath themſelves to live at different times under the protection of the Athenians, Thebans, and Spartans, changing their alliances as it ſuited their intereſt. Of this we have ſeveral inſtances in Thucydides. One of them, named Perdiccas, with whom the Athenians were diſſatisfied, became their tributary; which continued from their ſettling a colony in Amphipolis, under Agnon, the ſon of Nicias, about 48 years before the Peloponneſian war, till Braſidas, the Lacedæmonian general, about the fifth or ſixth year of that war, raiſed that whole province againſt them, and drove them from the frontiers of Macedon.

We ſhall ſoon ſee this Macedon, which formerly had paid tribute to Athens, become under Philip, the arbiter of Greece; and triumph, under Alexander, over all the forces of Aſia.

Amyntas ‡, father of Philip, began to reign the third year of the 96th Olympiad. Having, the very year after, [illegible] en

* Herod. l. v. c. 22. † Idem. l. ix. c. 44.
‡ A. M. 3606. Ant. J. C. 398. Diod. l. xiv. p. 307. 341.

warmly

warmly attacked by the Illyrians, and dispossessed of a great part of his kingdom, which he thought it scarce possible for him ever to recover again, he addressed himself to the Olynthians; and, in order to engage them the more firmly in his interest, he had given up to them a considerable tract of land in the neighbourhood of their city. According to some authors, Argæus, who was of the blood royal, being supported by the Athenians, and taking advantage of the troubles which broke out in Macedonia, reigned there two years *. Amyntas was restored to the throne by the Thessalians; upon which he was desirous of resuming the possession of the lands, which nothing but the ill situation of his affairs had obliged him to resign to the Olynthians. This occasioned a war; but Amyntas, not being strong enough to make head singly against so powerful a people, the Greeks, and the Athenians in particular, sent him succours, and enabled him to weaken the power of the Olynthians, who threatened him with a total and impending ruin. † It was then that Amyntas, in an assembly of the Greeks, to which he had sent a deputation, engaged to unite with them to enable the Athenians to possess themselves of Amphipolis, declaring that this city belonged to the last-mentioned people. This strong alliance was continued after his death with queen Eurydice, his widow, as we shall soon see.

‡ Philip, one of the sons of Amyntas, was born the same year this monarch declared war against the Olynthians. This Philip was father of Alexander the Great; for we cannot distinguish him better, than by calling him the father of such a son, as § Cicero observes of the father of Cato of Utica.

‖ Amyntas died, after having reigned 24 years. He left three legitimate children, whom Eurydice had brought him, *viz.* Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, and a natural son named Ptolemy.

Alexander succeeded his father as eldest son. In the very beginning of his reign, he was engaged in a sharp war against the Illyrians, neighbours to, and perpetual enemies of, Macedonia. Concluding afterwards a peace with them, he put Philip, his younger brother, an infant, into their hands, by

* A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383.

† Æschin. de Fals. Legat. p. 400. ‡ A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383.

§ M. Cato sententiam dixit hujus nostri Catonis pater. Ut enim cæteri ex patribus, sic hic, qui lumen illud progenuit, ex filio est nominandus. De Offic. l. iii. n. 66.

‖ A. M. 3629. Ant. J. C. 375. Diod. p. 373. Justin. l. vii. c. iv.

way of hoſtage, who was ſoon ſent back to him. Alexander reigned but one year.

* The crown now belonged by right to Perdiccas, his brother, who was become eldeſt by his death; but Pauſanias, a prince of the blood royal, who had been exiled, diſputed it with him, and was ſupported by a great number of Macedonians. He began by ſeizing ſome fortreſſes. Happily for the new king, Iphicrates was then in that country, whither the Athenians had ſent him with a ſmall fleet; not to beſiege Amphipolis as yet, but only to take a view of the place, and make the neceſſary preparations for beſieging it. Eurydice hearing of his arrival, deſired to ſee him, intending to requeſt his aſſiſtance againſt Pauſanias. When he was come into the palace, and had ſeated himſelf, the afflicted queen, the better to excite his compaſſion, takes her two children, Perdiccas and Philip †, and ſets the former in the arms, and the latter on the knees of Iphicrates; ſhe then ſpoke thus to him: "Remember, Iphicrates, that Amyntas, the father of theſe unhappy orphans, had always a love for your country, and adopted you for his ſon. This double tie lays you under a double obligation. The amity which that king entertained for Athens, requires that you ſhould acknowledge us publicly for your friends; and the tenderneſs which that father had for your perſon, claims from you the heart of a brother to theſe children." Iphicrates, moved with this ſight and diſcourſe, expelled the uſurper, and reſtored the lawful ſovereign.

‡ Perdiccas § did not long continue in tranquillity. A new enemy, more formidable than the firſt, ſoon invaded his repoſe: this was Ptolemy, his brother, natural ſon of Amyntas, as was before obſerved. He might poſſibly be the eldeſt ſon, and claim the crown as ſuch. The two brothers referred the deciſion of their claim to Pelopidas, general of the Thebans, more revered for his probity than his valour. Pelopidas determined in favour of Perdiccas; and having judged it neceſſary to take pledges on both ſides, in order to oblige the two competitors to obſerve the articles of the treaty accepted by

* A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 375. Æſch. de Falſ. Legat. p. 399, 400.

† Philip was not then leſs than nine years old.

‡ Plutarch. in Pelop. p. 292.

§ Plutarch ſuppoſes, that it was with Alexander that Ptolomy diſputed the empire, which cannot be made to agree with the relation of Æſchines, who, being his cotemporary, is more worthy of credit. I therefore thought proper to ſubſtitute Perdiccas inſtead of Alexander.

them,

them, among other hoſtages, he carried Philip with him to Thebes *, where he reſided ſeveral years. He was then ten years of age. Eurydice, at her leaving this much-loved ſon, earneſtly beſought Pelopidas to procure him an education worthy of his birth, and of the city to which he was going an hoſtage. Pelopidas placed him with Epaminondas, who had a celebrated Pythagorean philoſopher in his houſe for the education of his ſon. Philip improved greatly by the inſtructions of his preceptor, and much more by thoſe of Epaminondas, under whom he undoubtedly made ſome campaigns, though no mention is made of this. He could not poſſibly have had a more excellent maſter, whether for war or the conduct of life; for this illuſtrious Theban was at the ſame time a great philoſopher, that is to ſay, a wiſe and virtuous man, and a great commander, as well as a great ſtateſman. Philip was very proud of being his pupil, and propoſed him as a model to himſelf; moſt happy, could he have copied him perfectly! Perhaps he borrowed from Epaminondas his activity in war, and his promptitude in improving occaſions, which however formed but a very inconſiderable part of the merit of this illuſtrious perſonage: but with regard to his temperance, his juſtice, his diſintereſtedneſs, his ſincerity, his magnanimity, his clemency, which rendered him truly great, theſe were virtues which Philip had not received from nature, and did not acquire by imitation.

The Thebans did not know that they were then forming and educating the moſt dangerous enemy of Greece. †After Philip had ſpent nine or ten years in their city, the news of a revolution in Macedon made him reſolve to leave Thebes clandeſtinely. Accordingly he ſteals away, makes the utmoſt expedition, and finds the Macedonians greatly ſurpriſed at having loſt their king Perdiccas, who had been killed in a great battle by the Illyrians, but much more ſo, to find they had as many enemies as neighbours. The Illyrians were on the point of returning into the kingdom with a greater force; the Peonians infeſted it with perpetual incurſions; the Thracians were determined to place Pauſanias on the throne, who had not abandoned his pretenſions; and the Athenians were bringing Argæus, whom Mantias their general was ordered

* Thebis triennio obſes habitus, prima pueritiæ rudimenta in urbe ſeveritatis antiquæ, et in domo Epaminondæ ſummi et philoſophi et imperatoris, depoſuit. Juſtin. l. vii. c. 5. Philip lived in Thebes not only three, but nine or ten years.

† Diod. l. xvi. p. 407. Juſtin. l. vii. c. 5.

to support with a strong fleet and a considerable body of troops. Macedonia at that time wanted a prince of years to govern, and had only a child, Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas, and lawful heir of the crown. Philip governed the kingdom for some time, by the title of Guardian to the Prince; but the subjects, justly alarmed, deposed the nephew in favour of the uncle; and, instead of the heir whom nature had given them, set him upon the throne whom the present conjuncture of affairs required; persuaded that the laws of necessity are superior to all others. *Accordingly Philip, at 24 years of age, ascended the throne the first year of the 105th Olympiad.

The new king, with great coolness and presence of mind, used all his endeavours to answer the expectations of the people: accordingly he provides for, and remedies every thing, revives the desponding courage of the Macedonians, and reinstates and disciplines the army. † He was inflexibly rigid in the last point; well knowing that the success of all his enterprises depended on it. A soldier, who was thirsty, went out of the ranks to drink, which Philip punished with great severity. Another soldier, who ought to have stood to his arms, laid them down: him he immediately ordered to be put to death.

It was at this time he established the Macedonian phalanx, which afterwards became so famous, and was the choicest and the best disciplined body of an army the world had ever seen, and might dispute precedency in those respects with the Greeks of Marathon and Salamin. He drew up the plan, or at least improved it from the idea suggested by Homer ‡. That poet describes the union of the Grecian commanders under the image of a battalion, the soldiers of which, by the assemblage or conjunction of their shields, form a body impenetrable to the enemy's darts. I rather believe that Philip formed the idea of the phalanx from the lessons of Epaminondas, and the sacred battalion of the Thebans. He treated those chosen foot-soldiers with particular distinction, honoured them with the title of his Comrades, or Companions §; and by such marks of honour and confidence induced them to bear, without any murmuring, the hardest fatigues, and to confront the greatest dangers with intrepidity. Such familiarities as these cost a monarch little, and are of no common advantage to him.

* A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360. Diod. l. xvi. p. 404—413.
† Ælian. l. xiv. c. 49. ‡ Iliad. N. v. 130.
§ Πεζέταιρος signifies verbatim, a foot-soldier, comrade, companion.

I shall

I ſhall inſert, at the end of this ſection, a more particular deſcription of the phalanx, and the uſe made of it in battles. I ſhall borrow from Polybius this deſcription, the length of which would too much interrupt the ſeries of our hiſtory; yet being placed ſeparately, may probably pleaſe, eſpecially by the judicious reflections of a man ſo well ſkilled in the art of war as that hiſtorian.

One of the firſt things Philip took care of, was, the negotiating a cautious peace with the Athenians, whoſe power he dreaded, and whom he was not willing to make his enemies, in the beginning of a reign hitherto but ill eſtabliſhed. He therefore ſends ambaſſadors to Athens, ſpares neither promiſes nor proteſtations of amity, and at laſt was ſo happy as to conclude a treaty, of which he knew how to make all the advantages he had propoſed to himſelf.

Immediately after this, he does not ſeem ſo much to act like a monarch of but 24 years of age, as like a politician profoundly verſed in the art of diſſimulation; and who, without the aſſiſtance of experience, was already ſenſible, that to know when to loſe at a proper ſeaſon is to gain. * He had ſeized upon Amphipolis, a city ſituated on the frontiers of his kingdom, which conſequently ſtood very convenient for him. He could not keep it, as that would have weakened his army too much, not to mention that the Athenians, whoſe friendſhip it was his intereſt to preſerve, would have been exaſperated at his holding a place which they claimed as their colony. On the other ſide, he was determined not to give up to his enemies one of the keys to his dominions. He therefore took the reſolution to declare that place free, by permitting the inhabitants to govern themſelves as a republic, and in this manner to ſet them at variance with their ancient maſters. At the ſame time he diſarmed the Peonians by dint of promiſes and preſents; reſolving to attack them, after he had diſunited his enemies, and weakened them by that diſunion.

This addreſs and ſubtilty eſtabliſhed him more firmly on the throne, and he ſoon found himſelf without competitors. Having barred the entrance of his kingdom to Pauſanias, he marches againſt Argæus, comes up with him in the road from Ægæ to Methone, defeats him, kills a great number of his ſoldiers, and takes a multitude of priſoners; attacks the Peonians, and ſubjects them to his power: he afterwards turns his arms againſt the Illyrians, cuts them to pieces, and obliges them to reſtore to him all the places poſſeſſed by them in Macedonia.

* Polyæn. Stratag. l. iv. c. 17.

Much

* Much about this time the Athenians acted with the greateſt generoſity in regard to the inhabitants of Eubœa. That iſland, which is ſeparated from Bœotia by the Euripus, was ſo called from its large and beautiful paſture lands, and is now called Negropont. † It had been ſubject to the Athenians, who had ſettled colonies in Eretria and Chalcis, the two principal cities of it. Thucydides relates, that in the Peloponneſian war, the revolt of the Eubœans diſmayed the Athenians very much, becauſe they drew greater revenues from thence than from Attica. From that time Eubœa became a prey to factions; and at the time of which we are now ſpeaking, one of theſe factions implored the aſſiſtance of Thebes, and the other of Athens. At firſt the Thebans met with no obſtacle, and eaſily made the faction they eſpouſed triumphant. However, at the arrival of the Athenians, matters took a very different turn. Though they were very much offended at the Eubœans, who had behaved very injuriouſly towards them, nevertheleſs, ſenſibly affected with the great danger to which they were expoſed, and forgetting their private reſentments, they immediately gave them ſuch powerful ſuccour both by ſea and land, that in a few days they forced the Thebans to retire. And now, being abſolute maſters of the iſland, they reſtored the inhabitants their cities and liberty, perſuaded, ſays Æſchines‡ in relating this circumſtance, that juſtice requires we ſhould obliterate the remembrance of paſt injuries, when the party offending repoſe their truſt in the offended. The Athenians, after having reſtored Eubœa to its former tranquillity, retired, without deſiring any other benefit for all their ſervices, than the glory of having appeaſed the troubles of that iſland.

But they did not always behave in this manner with regard to other ſtates; and it was this gave riſe to "§ the war of the "allies," of which I have ſpoken elſewhere.

Hitherto Philip, that is, during the firſt years of his reign, had employed his endeavours to triumph over his competitors for the throne; to pacify domeſtic diviſions, to repel the attacks of his foreign enemies, and to diſable them by his frequent victories, from troubling him in the poſſeſſion of his kingdom.

* A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 358.

† Vall Paterc. l. i. c. 4. Thucyd. l. viii. p. 613. Demoſt. pro Cteſiph. p. 489. Æſchin. contra Cteſiph. p. 441.

‡ Οὐχ ἡγούμενοι δίκαιον εἶναι τὴν ὀργὴν ἀπομνημονεύειν ἐν τῷ πιστευθῆναι.

§ A. M. 3646.

But

But he is now going to appear in another character. Sparta and Athens, after having long disputed the empire of Greece, had weakened themselves by their reciprocal divisions. This circumstance had given Thebes an opportunity of regaining its former grandeur; but Thebes having weakened itself by the wars in which it had been engaged against Sparta and Athens, gave Philip an occasion of aspiring also in his turn to the sovereignty of Greece. And now, as a politician and a conqueror, he revolves how he may best extend his frontiers, reduce his neighbours, and weaken those whom he was not able to conquer at present; how he may introduce himself into the affairs of Greece, share in its intestine feuds, make himself its arbiter, join with one side to destroy the other; in a word, to obtain the empire over all. In the execution of this great design, he spared neither artifices, open force, presents, nor promises. He employs for this purpose negotiations, treaties, and alliances, and each of them, singly, in such a manner as he judges most conducive to the success of his design; advantage solely determining him in the choice of measures.

We shall always see him acting under this second character, in all the steps he takes henceforth, till he assumes a third and last character; which is, preparing to attack the great king of Persia, and endeavouring to become the avenger of Greece, by subverting an empire which before had attempted to subject it, and which had always continued its irreconcileable enemy, either by open invasions or secret intrigue.

We have seen that Philip, in the very beginning of his reign, had seized upon Amphipolis, because well situated for his views; but that to avoid restoring it to the Athenians, who claimed it as one of their colonies, he had declared it a free city. But at this time, being no longer under such great apprehension from the Athenians, he resumed his former design of seizing Amphipolis. * The inhabitants of this city being threatened with a speedy siege, sent ambassadors to the Athenians, offering to put themselves and their city under the protection of Athens, and beseeching them to accept the keys of Amphipolis. But that republic rejected their offer, for fear of breaking the peace they had concluded the preceding year with Philip. † However, this monarch was not so delicate in this point; for he besieged and took Amphipolis by means of the intelligence he carried on in the city, and made

* Demosth. Olynth. i. p. 2. Diod. p. 412.

† A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 368.

it

it one of the ſtrongeſt barriers of his kingdom. Demoſthenes, in his Orations, frequently reproaches the Athenians with their indolence on this occaſion, by repreſenting to them, that had they acted at this time with the expedition they ought, they would have ſaved a confederate city, and ſpared themſelves a multitude of misfortunes.

* Philip had promiſed the Athenians to give up Amphipolis into their hands, and by this promiſe had made them ſupine and inactive; but he did not value himſelf upon keeping his word, and ſincerity was in no manner the virtue he profeſſed. So far from ſurrendering this city, he alſo poſſeſſed himſelf of Pydna† and of Potidæa‡. The Athenians kept a garriſon in the latter; theſe he diſmiſſed without doing them the leaſt injury; and gave up this city to the Olynthians, to engage them in his intereſt.

§ From thence he proceeded to ſeize Crenides, which the Thaſians had built two years before, and which he called Philippi from his own name. It was near this city, afterwards famous from the defeat of Brutus and Caſſius, that he opened certain gold mines, which every year produced upwards of 1000 talents, that is, about L. 144,000 Sterling; a prodigious ſum of money in that age. By this means, money became more current in Macedon than before; and Philip firſt cauſed the golden ſpecies to be coined there, which outlived ‖ monarchy. Superiority of finances is of endleſs advantage to a ſtate; and no prince underſtood them better than Philip, or neglected them leſs. By this fund, he was enabled to maintain a powerful army of foreigners, and to bribe a number of creatures in moſt of the cities of Greece.

** Demoſthenes ſays, that when Greece was in its moſt flouriſhing condition, "gold and ſilver were ranked in the num-

* Diod. p. 412.

† Pydna, a city of Macedon, ſituated on the gulph anciently called Sinus Thermaicus, and now Golfo di Salonichi.

‡ Potidæa, another city of Macedonia, on the borders of ancient Thrace. It was but 60 ſtadia, or three leagues from Olynthus.

§ Diod. p. 413.

‖ Gratus Alexandro Regi magno fuit ille
Chœrilus, incultis qui verſibus et male natis
Rettulit acceptos, regale numiſma, Philippos.
HORAT. l. ii. Ep. ad Auguſt.
Cherilus the Pelean youth approv'd,
Him he rewarded well, and him he lov'd;
His dull uneven verſe, by a great good fate,
Got him his favours, and a fair eſtate. CREECH's HOR.

** Philip. iii. p. 92.

"ber

"ber of prohibited arms." But Philip thought, ſpoke, and acted in a quite different manner. * It is ſaid, that conſulting the oracle of Delphos, he received the following anſwer:

Ἀργυρέαις λόγχαισι μάχου καὶ πάντα κρατήσεις:
Make coin thy weapons, and thou'lt conquer all.

The advice of the prieſteſs became his rule, and he applied it with great ſucceſs. He owned, that he had carried more places by money than arms; that he never forced a gate, till after having attempted to open it with a golden key; and that he did not think any fortreſs impregnable, into which a mule laden with ſilver could find entrance. † It has been ſaid, that he was a merchant rather than a conqueror; that it was not Philip, but his gold, which ſubdued Greece, and that he bought its cities rather than took them. He had penſioners in all the commonwealths of Greece, and retained thoſe in his pay who had the greateſt ſhare in the public affairs. And indeed he was leſs proud of the ſucceſs of a battle than that of a negotiation, well knowing, that neither his generals nor his ſoldiers could ſhare in the honour of the latter.

Philip had married Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus. The latter was ſon of Alcetas, king of Moloſſus, or Epirus. Olympias brought him Alexander, ſurnamed the Great, who was born at Pella, the capital of Macedonia, the firſt year of the 106th Olympiad. ‡ Philip, who at that time was abſent from his kingdom, had three very agreeable § advices brought him; that he had carried the prize in the Olympic games; that Parmenio, one of his generals, had gained a great victory

* Suidas.

Hic ſunt numerati aurei trecenti nummi, qui vocantur Philippi.
PLAUT. in POEN.

† Callidus emptor Olynthi.
JUV. Sat. xii. l. 47.

Philippus majore ex parte mercatore Græciæ, quam victor.
VAL. MAX lib. vii c. ii.

——— Diffidit hoſtium
Portas vir Macedo, et ſubruit æmulos
Reges muneribus.
HORAT. lib. iii. Od. xvi.

When engines, and when arts do fail,
The golden wedge can cleave the wall;
Gold Philip's rival kings o'erthrew.
CREECH. HOR

‡ A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356. Plut. in Alex. p. 666. Juſtin. l. xii. c. 16. Plut. in Apophth. p. 187.

§ Plutarch ſuppoſes, that this news was brought him immediately after the taking of Potidæa, but this city had been taken two years before.

over

over the Illyrians; and that his wife was delivered of a son. This prince, terrified at so signal a happiness, which the heathens thought frequently the omen of some mournful catastrophe, cried out, "Great Jupiter, in return for so many "blessings, send me as soon as possible some slight misfortune."

* We may form a judgment of Philip's care and attention with regard to the education of this prince, by the letter he wrote a little after his birth to Aristotle, to acquaint him so early, that he had made choice of him for his son's preceptor. "I am to inform you," said he, "that I have a son born. I "return thanks to the gods, not so much for having given "him to me, as to have given him in the time that Aris"totle lived. I may justly promise myself, that you will make "him a successor worthy of us both, and a king worthy of Ma"cedonia." What noble thoughts arise from the perusal of this letter, far different from the manners of the present age, but highly worthy of a great monarch and a good father! I shall leave the reader to make such reflections on it as he shall think proper, and shall only observe, that this example may serve as a lesson even to private persons, as it teaches them how highly they ought to value a good master, and the extraordinary care they should take to find such an one; † for every son is an Alexander to his father. It appears that Philip ‡ put his son very early under Aristotle, convinced that the success of studies depends on the foundation first laid; and that the man cannot be too able, who is to teach the principles of learning and knowledge in the manner they ought to be inculcated.

### A DESCRIPTION OF THE MACEDONIAN PHALANX.

§ This || was a body of infantry, consisting of 16,000 heavy-armed troops, who were always placed in the centre of the battle. Besides a sword, they were armed with a shield, and a

* Aul. Gel. l. ix. c. 3.

† Fingamus Alexandrum dari nobis, impositum gremio, dignum tanta cura infantem: (quanquam suus cuique dignus est.) Quintil. l. i. c. 1.

‡ An Philippus Macedonum rex Alexandro filio suo prima literatum elementa tradi ab Aristotele summo ejus ætatis philosopho voluisset, aut ille suscepisset hoc officium, si non studiorum initia a perfectissimo quoque optime tractari, pertinere ad summam credidisset? Quintil. ibid.

§ Polyb. l. xvii. p. 764—767. Id. l. xii. p. 664. Ælian. de Instruend. Acieb.

|| Decem et sex millia peditum more Macedonum armati fuere, qui phalangitæ appellabantur. Hæc media acies fuit in fronte, in decem partes divisa. Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. n. 40.

pike

pike, or ſpear, called by the Greeks ΣΑΡΙΣΣΑ, Sariſſa. This pike was 14 cubits long, that is, 21 French feet; for the cubit conſiſts of a foot and a half.

The phalanx was commonly divided into ten corps, or battalions, each of which was compoſed of 1600 men, 100 feet in rank, and 16 in file. Sometimes the file of 16 was doubled, and ſometimes divided according to occaſion; ſo that the phalanx was ſometimes but eight, and at other times 32 deep: but its uſual and regular depth was of 16.

The ſpace between each ſoldier upon a march was ſix feet, or, which is the ſame, four cubits; and the ranks were alſo about ſix feet aſunder. When the phalanx advanced towards an enemy, there was but three feet diſtance between each ſoldier, and the ranks were cloſed in proportion. In fine, when the phalanx was to receive the enemy, the men who compoſed it drew ſtill cloſer, each ſoldier occupying only the ſpace of a foot and a half.

This evidently ſhows the different ſpace which the front of the phalanx took up in theſe three caſes, ſuppoſing the whole to conſiſt of 16,000 men, at 16 deep, and conſequently always 1000 men in front. This ſpace, or diſtance, in the firſt caſe was 6000 feet, or 1000 fathoms, which make ten furlongs, or half a league. In the ſecond caſe it was but half as much, and took up five furlongs, or 500 fathoms*. And, in the third caſe, it was again diminiſhed another half, and extended to the diſtance of only two furlongs and a half, or 250 fathoms.

Polybius examines the phalanx in the ſecond caſe, in which it marched to attack the enemy. There then was three feet in breadth and depth between each ſoldier. We obſerved above, that their pikes were 14 cubits long. The ſpace between the two hands, and that part of the pike which projected beyond the right, took up four, and conſequently the pike advanced ten cubits beyond the body of the ſoldier who carried it. This being ſuppoſed, the pikes of the ſoldiers placed in the fifth rank, whom I will call the fifths, and ſo of the reſt, projected two cubits beyond the firſt rank; the pikes of the fourths, four; thoſe of the thirds, ſix; thoſe of the ſeconds, eight cubits; in fine, the pikes of the ſoldiers who formed the firſt rank, advanced ten cubits towards the enemy.

The reader will eaſily conceive, that when the ſoldiers who compoſed the phalanx, this great and unwieldy machine, every part of which briſtled with pikes, as we have ſeen, moved all

* Five ſtadia.

at once, presenting their pikes to attack the enemy, that they must charge with great force. The soldiers, who were behind the fifth rank, held their pikes raised, but reclining a little over the ranks who preceded them; thereby forming a kind of a roof, which, not to mention their shields, secured them from darts discharged at a distance, which fell without doing them any hurt.

The soldiers of all the other ranks beyond the fifth, could not indeed engage against the enemy, nor reach them with their pikes, but then they gave great assistance in battle to those in front of them; for by supporting them behind with the utmost strength, and propping them with their backs, they increased in a prodigious manner the strength and impetuosity of the onset, they gave their comrades such a force as rendered them immoveable in attacks, and at the same time deprived them of every hope or opportunity of flight by the rear; so that they were under the necessity either to conquer or die.

And indeed Polybius acknowledges, that as long as the soldiers of the phalanx preserved their disposition and order as a phalanx, that is, as long as they kept their ranks in the close order we have described, it was impossible for an enemy either to sustain its weight, or to open and break it. And this he demonstrates to us in a plain and sensible manner. The Roman soldiers (for it is those he compares to the Greeks in the place in question), says he, take up in fight, three feet each. And as they must necessarily move about very much, either to shift their bucklers to the right and left, in defending themselves, or to thrust with the point, or strike with the edge, we must be obliged to suppose the distance of three feet between every soldier. In this every Roman soldier takes up six feet, that is, twice as much distance as one of the * phalanx, and consequently opposes singly two soldiers of the first rank; and for the same reason, is obliged to make head against ten pikes, as we before observed. Now it is impossible for a single soldier to break, or force his way through ten pikes.

† This Livy shows evidently in a few words, where he describes in what manner the Romans were repulsed by the

* It was before said, that each soldier of the phalanx took up three feet when he advanced to attack the enemy, and but half as much when he waited his coming up. In this last case, each Roman soldier was obliged to make head against 20 pikes.

† Liv. l. xxxii. n. 17.

Macedonians

Macedonians at the siege of a city. The consul, says he, made his cohorts to advance, in order if possible to penetrate the Macedonian phalanx. When the latter, keeping very close together, had advanced forward their long pikes, the Romans having discharged ineffectually their javelins against the Macedonians, whom their shields, pressed very close together, covered like a roof and a tortoise; the Romans, I say, drew their swords. But it was not possible for them either to come to a close engagement, or cut or break the pikes of the enemy; and if they happened to cut or break any of them, the broken piece of the pike served as a point; so that this range of pikes with which the front of the phalanx was armed, still existed.

*Paulus Æmilius owned, that in the battle with Perseus, the last king of Macedon, this rampart of brass, and forest of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with terror and astonishment. He did not remember, he said, any thing so formidable as this phalanx; and often afterwards declared, that this dreadful spectacle had made so strong an impression upon him, as almost made him despair of the victory.

From what has been said above, it follows, that the Macedonian phalanx was invincible; nevertheless, we find by history that the Macedonians and their phalanx were vanquished and subdued by the Romans. It was invincible, replied Polybius, so long as it continued a phalanx, but this happened very rarely; for in order to its being so, it required a flat even spot of ground of large extent, without either tree, bush, intrenchment, ditch, valley, hill, or river. Now we seldom find an even spot of ground, of 15, 20, or more furlongs † in extent; for so large a space is necessary for containing a whole army, of which the phalanx is but a part.

But let us suppose, (it is Polybius who still speaks,) that a tract of ground, such as could be wished, were found; yet of what use could a body of troops drawn up in the form of a phalanx be, should the enemy, instead of advancing forward and offering battle, send out detachments to lay waste the country, plunder the cities, or cut off the convoys? That in case the enemy should come to battle, the general need only command part of his front, the centre for instance, to give way and fly, that the phalanx may have an opportunity of pursuing them. In this case, it is manifest the phalanx would be broke, and a large cavity made in it, in which the Romans

* Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 265.

† Three quarters of a league, or a league, or perhaps more.

would not fail to charge the phalanx in flank on the right and left, at the same time that those soldiers, who are pursuing the enemy, may be attacked in the same manner.

This reasoning of Polybius appears to me very clear, and at the same time gives us a very just idea of the manner in which the ancients fought; which certainly ought to have its place in history, as it is an essential part of it.

Hence appears, as Mr. Bossuet * observes after Polybius, the difference between the Macedonian † phalanx formed of one large body, very thick on all sides, which was obliged to move all at once, and the Roman army divided into small bodies, which for that reason were nimbler, and consequently more aptly disposed for motions of every kind. The phalanx cannot long preserve its natural property (these are Polybius's words); that is to say, its solidity and thickness, because it requires its peculiar spots of ground, and those, as it were, made purposely for it; and that for want of such tracts, it incumbers, or rather breaks itself by its own motion; not to mention, that, if it is once broke, the soldiers who compose it can never rally again. Whereas the Roman army, by its division into small bodies, takes advantage of all places and situations, and suits itself to them. It is united or separated at pleasure. It files off, or draws together, without the least difficulty. It can very easily detach, rally, and form every kind of evolution, either in whole or in part, as occasion may require. In fine, it has a greater variety of motions, and consequently more activity and strength than the phalanx.

‡ This enabled Paulus Æmilius § to gain his celebrated victory

* Discourse on Universal History.

† Statarius uterque miles, ordines fervans; sed illa phalanx immobilis, et unius generis: Romana acies distinctior, ex pluribus partibus constans; facilis partienti quacumque opus esset, facilis jungenti. Tit. Liv. l. ix. n. 19.

Erant pleraque sylvestria circa, incommoda phalangi, maxime Macedonum, quæ, nisi ubi prælongis hastis velut vallum ante clypeos objecit, quod ut fiat, libero campo opus est, nullius admodum usus est. Id. l. xxxi. n. 39.

‡ Plutarch in Paul. Æmil. p. 265, 266. Liv. l. xliv. n. 41.

§ Secunda legio immissa dissipavit phalangem; neque ulla evidentior causa victoriæ fuit, quam quod multa passim prælia erant, quæ fluctuantem turbarunt primo, deinde disjecerunt phalangem; cujus confertæ, et intentis horrentis hastis, intolerabiles vires sunt. Si carptim aggrediendo circumagere immobilem longitudine et gravitate hastam cogas, confusa strute implicantur: si vero ab latere, aut ab tergo, aliquid tumultus increpuit, ruinæ modo turbantur. Sicut tum adversus catervatim irruentes Romanos, et interruptâ multifariam acie, obviam ire cogebantur: et Romani, quacumque data intervalla essent, insinuabant ordines suos. Qui si universa

tory over Perseus. He first attacked the phalanx in front. But the Macedonians, keeping very close together, holding their pikes with both hands, and presenting this iron rampart to the enemy, could not be either broke or forced in any manner, and so made a dreadful slaughter of the Romans. But at last, the unevenness of the ground, and the great extent of the front in battle, not allowing the Macedonians to continue in all parts that range of shields and pikes, Paulus Æmilius observed, that the phalanx was obliged to leave several openings and intervals. Upon this he attacked them at these openings, not as before, in front, and in a general onset, but by detached bodies, and in different parts, at one and the same time. By this means the phalanx was broke in an instant, and its whole force, which consisted merely in its union, and the impression it made all at once, was entirely lost, and Paulus Æmilius gained the victory.

* The same Polybius, in the twelfth book above cited, describes in few words the order of battle observed by the cavalry. According to him, a squadron of horse consisted of 800, generally drawn up 100 in front, and eight deep, consequently such a squadron as this took up a furlong, or 100 fathoms, supposing the distance of one fathom, or six feet, for each horseman; a space he must necessarily have, to make his evolutions and to rally. Ten squadrons, or 8000 horse, occupied ten times as much ground, that is, ten furlongs, or 1000 fathoms, which makes about half a league.

From what has been said, the reader may judge how much ground an army took up according to the number of infantry and cavalry of which it consisted.

## SECTION II.

### THE SACRED WAR.—SEQUEL OF THE HISTORY OF PHILIP.

Discord†, which fomented perpetually in the Greeks dispositions not very remote from an open rupture, broke out with great violence upon account of the Phocæans. Those people, who inhabited the territories adjacent to Delphos, ploughed up certain lands that were sacred to Apollo, which were thereby profaned. Immediately the people in the neighbourhood exclaimed against them, as guilty of sacrilege, some from a spirit of sincerity, and others in order to cover their private re-

universa acie in frontem adversus instructam phalangem concurressent—induissent se hastis, nec confertam aciem sustinuissent. Tit. L. v.

* Lib xii. p. 633.

† A. M. 3649. Ant. J. C. 355. Diod. l. xvi. p. 425—433.

venge with the veil of religion. The war that broke out on this occaſion was called the Sacred War, as undertaken from a religious motive, and laſted ten years. The people guilty of this profanation were ſummoned to appear before the Amphyctions, or ſtates-general of Greece; and the whole affair being duly examined, the Phocæans were declared ſacrilegious, and ſentenced to pay a heavy fine.

Philomelus, one of their chief citizens, a bold man, and of great authority, having proved by ſome verſes in * Homer, that the ſovereignty of Delphos belonged anciently to the Phocæans, inflames them againſt this decree, determines them to take up arms, and is appointed their general. He immediately went to Sparta, to engage the Lacedæmonians in his intereſt. They were very much diſguſted at the ſentence which the Amphyctions had pronounced againſt them, at the ſolicitation of the Thebans, by which they had been alſo condemned to pay a fine, for having ſeized upon the citadel of Thebes by fraud and violence. Archidamus, one of the kings of Sparta, gave Philomelus a handſome reception. This monarch, however, did not dare to declare openly in favour of the Phocæans, but promiſed to aſſiſt him with money, and to furniſh him ſecretly with troops, as he accordingly did.

Philomelus, at his return home, raiſes ſoldiers, and begins by attacking the temple of Delphos, of which he poſſeſſed himſelf without any great difficulty, the inhabitants of the country making but a weak reſiſtance. The † Locrians, a people in the neighbourhood of Delphos, took arms againſt him, but were defeated in ſeveral rencounters. Philomelus, encouraged by theſe firſt ſucceſſes, increaſed his troops daily, and put himſelf in a condition to carry on his enterpriſe with vigour. Accordingly he enters the temple, tears from the pillars the decree of the Amphyctions againſt the Phocæans, publiſhes all over the country, that he has no deſign to ſeize the riches of the temple, and that his ſole view is to reſtore the Phocæans their ancient rights and privileges. It was neceſſary for him to have a ſanction from the god who preſided at Delphos, and to receive ſuch an anſwer from the oracle as might be favourable to him. The prieſteſs at firſt refuſed to co-operate on this occaſion; but, being terrified by his menaces, ſhe anſwered, that the god permitted him to do whatever he ſhould think proper; a circumſtance he took care to publiſh to all the neighbouring nations.

The affair was now become a ſerious one. The Amphyc-

* Iliad. l. ii. v. 516. † Or Locri.

tions

tions meeting a second time, a resolution was formed to declare war against the Phocæans. Most of the Grecian nations engaged in this quarrel, and sided with the one or the other party. The Bœotians, the Locrians, Thessalians, and several other neighbouring people, declared in favour of the god; whilst Sparta, Athens, and some other cities of Peloponnesus, joined with the Phocæans. Philomelus had not yet touched the treasures of the temple; but being afterwards not so scrupulous, he believed that the riches of the god could not be better employed, than in his (the deity's) defence, for he gave this specious name to this sacrilegious attempt; and being enabled, by this fresh supply, to double the pay of his soldiers, he raised a very considerable body of troops.

Several battles were fought, and the success for some time seemed doubtful on both sides. Every body knows how much religious wars are to be dreaded; and the prodigious lengths which a false zeal, when veiled with so venerable a name, is apt to go. The Thebans having in a rencounter taken several prisoners, condemned them all to die as sacrilegious wretches, who were excommunicated. The Phocæans did the same by way of reprisal. These had at first gained several advantages; but having been defeated in a great battle, Philomelus, their leader, being closely attacked upon an eminence from which there was no retreating, defended himself for a long time with invincible bravery, which however not availing, he threw himself headlong from a rock, in order to avoid the torments he must unavoidably have undergone, had he fallen alive into the hands of his enemies. Onomarchus was his successor, and took upon him the command of the forces.

* This new general had soon levied a fresh army, the advantageous pay he offered procuring him soldiers from all sides. He also by dint of money brought over several chiefs of the other party, and prevailed upon them either to retire, or to do little or nothing, by which he gained great advantages.

Philip thought it most consistent with his interest to remain neuter in this general movement of the Greeks in favour either of the Phocæans or of the Thebans. It was consistent with the policy of this ambitious prince, who had little regard for religion or the interest of Apollo, but was always intent upon his own, not to engage in a war by which he could not reap the least benefit; and to take advantage of a juncture, in which all Greece, employed and divided by a great war, gave him an

* A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353.

opportunity

opportunity to extend his frontiers, and push his conquests without any apprehension of opposition. He was also well pleased to see both parties weaken and consume each other, as he should thereby be enabled to fall upon them afterwards with greater advantage.

* Being desirous of subjecting Thrace, and of securing the conquests he had already made in it, he determined to possess himself of Methone, a small city, incapable of supporting itself by its own strength, but which gave him disquiet, and obstructed his designs whenever it was in the hands of his enemies. Accordingly he besieged that city, made himself master of, and razed it. † He lost one of his eyes before Methone, by a very singular accident. After of Amphipolis had offered his service to Philip, as so excellent a marksman, that he could bring down birds in their most rapid flights. The monarch made this answer, "Well, I will take you into my service when I make "war upon starlings;" which answer stung the cross-bowman to the quick. A repartee proves often of fatal consequence to him who makes it, and it is not a small merit to know when to hold one's tongue. After having thrown himself into the city, he let fly an arrow, on which was written, "To Philip's "right eye," and gave him a most cruel proof that he was a good marksman; for he hit him in his right eye. Philip sent him back the same arrow, with this inscription, "If Philip "takes the city, he will hang up After;" and accordingly he was as good as his word.

‡ A skilful surgeon drew the arrow out of Philip's eye with so much art and dexterity, that not the least scar remained; and though he could not save his eye, yet he took away the blemish. § But nevertheless this monarch was so weak, as to be angry whenever any person happened to let slip the word Cyclops, or even the word Eye, in his presence. Men, however, seldom blush for an honourable imperfection. A Lacedæmonian woman thought more like a man, when, to console her son for a glorious wound that had lamed him, she said, "Now, "son, every step you take will put you in mind of your va-"lour."

‖ After the taking of Methone, Philip, ever studious either to weaken his enemies by new conquests, or gain new friends by doing them some important service, marched into Thessaly,

* A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353. Diod. p. 434.
† Suidas in Κυρον. ‡ Plin. l. vii. c. 37.
§ Demet. Phaler. de Elocut. c. iii. ‖ Diod. p. 432—435.

which

which had implored his assistance against the tyrants. The liberty of that country seemed now secure, since Alexander of Pheræ was no more. Neverthelefs, his brothers, who, in concert with his wife Thebe, had murdered him, grown weary of having some time acted the part of deliverers, revived his tyranny, and oppressed the Thessalians with a new yoke. Lycophron, the eldest of the three brothers who succeeded Alexander, had strengthened himself by the protection of the Phocæans. Onomarchus, their leader, brought him a numerous body of forces, and at first gained a considerable advantage over Philip; but engaging him a second time, he was entirely defeated, and his army routed. The flying troops were pursued to the sea-shore. Upwards of 6000 men were killed on the spot, among whom was Onomarchus, whose body was hung upon a gallows; and 3000 who were taken prisoners, were thrown into the sea by Philip's order, as so many sacrilegious wretches, the professed enemies of religion. Lycophron delivered up the city of Pheræ, and restored Thessaly to its liberty by abandoning it. By the happy success of this expedition, Philip acquired for ever the affection of the Thessalians, whose excellent cavalry, joined to the Macedonian phalanx, had afterwards so great a share in his victories and those of his son.

Phayllus, who succeeded his brother Onomarchus, finding the same advantages he had done, from the immense riches he found in the temple, raised a numerous army; and, supported by the troops of the Lacedæmonians, Athenians, and the other allies, whom he paid very largely, he went into Bœotia and invaded the Thebans. For a long time victory shifted sides; but at last, Phayllus being attacked with a sudden and violent distemper, after suffering the most cruel torments, ended his life in a manner worthy of his impieties and sacrilegious actions. Phalecus, then very young, the son of Onomarchus, was placed in his room; and Mnaseas, a man of great experience, and strongly attached to his family, was appointed his counsellor.

The new leader treading in the steps of his predecessors, plundered the temple as they had done, and enriched all his friends. At last the Phocæans opened their eyes, and appointed commissioners to call all those to account who had any concern in the public monies. Upon this Phalecus was deposed; and, after an exact inquiry, it was found, that from the beginning of the war there had been taken out of the temple upwards of 10,000 talents, that is, about L. 1,500,000.

Philip, after having freed the Thessalians, resolved to carry

ry his arms into Phocis. * This is his firſt attempt to get footing in Greece, and to have a ſhare in the general affairs of the Greeks, from which the kings of Macedon had always been excluded as foreigners. In this view, upon pretence of going over into Phocis in order to puniſh the ſacrilegious Phocæans, he marches towards Thermopylæ, to poſſeſs himſelf of a paſs, which gave him a free paſſage into Greece, and eſpecially into Attica. The Athenians, upon hearing of a march which might prove of the moſt fatal conſequence to them, haſtened to Thermopylæ, and poſſeſſed themſelves very ſeaſonably of this important paſs, which Philip did not dare attempt to force; ſo that he was obliged to return back into Macedonia.

## SECTION III.

### DEMOSTHENES HARANGUES THE ATHENIANS AGAINST PHILIP.—THAT PRINCE TAKES OLYNTHUS.

As we ſhall ſoon ſee Philip engaged againſt the Athenians, and as they, by the ſtrong exhortations and prudent counſels of Demoſthenes, will become his greateſt enemies, and the moſt powerful oppoſers of his ambitious deſigns; it may not be improper, before we enter into that part of the hiſtory, to give a ſhort account of the ſtate of Athens, and of the diſpoſition of the citizens at that time.

We muſt not form a judgment of the character of the Athenians, in the age we are now ſpeaking of, from that of their anceſtors, in the time of the battles of Marathon and of Salamin, from whoſe virtue they had extremely degenerated. They were no longer the ſame men, and had no longer the ſame maxims, and the ſame manners. They no longer diſcovered the ſame zeal for the public good, the ſame application to the affairs of the ſtate, the ſame courage to ſupport the fatigues of war by ſea and land; the ſame care of the revenues, the ſame willingneſs to hear ſalutary advice; the ſame diſcernment in the choice of generals of the armies, and of magiſtrates to whom they intruſted the adminiſtration of the ſtate. To theſe happy, theſe glorious diſpoſitions, ſucceeded a fondneſs for repoſe, and an indolence with regard to public affairs; an averſion for military fatigues, which they now left entirely to mercenary troops; and a profuſion of the public treaſures in games and ſhows; a love for the flattery which their orators laviſhed upon them; and an unhappy facility in conferring public offices

* A. M. 3652. Ant. J. C. 352.

by

by intrigue and cabal; all which uſually precede the approaching ruin of ſtates. Such was the ſituation of Athens, at the time the king of Macedon began to turn his arms againſt Greece.

We have ſeen that Philip, after various conqueſts, had attempted to advance as far as Phocis, but in vain; becauſe the Athenians, juſtly alarmed at the impending danger, had ſtopped him at the paſs of Thermopylæ. * Demoſthenes taking advantage of ſo favourable a diſpoſition of things, mounted the tribunal, in order to ſet before them a lively image of the impending danger to which they were expoſed by the boundleſs ambition of Philip; and to convince them of the abſolute neceſſity they were under, from hence, to apply the moſt ſpeedy remedies. Now, as the ſucceſs of his arms, and the rapidity of his progreſs, ſpread through Athens a kind of terror bordering very near upon deſpair, the orator, by a wonderful artifice, firſt endeavours to revive their courage, and aſcribes their calamities to their ſloth and indolence; for if they hitherto had acquitted themſelves of their duty, and that in ſpite of their activity and their utmoſt efforts, Philip had prevailed over them, they then, indeed, would not have the leaſt reſource or hope left. But in this oration and all thoſe which follow, Demoſthenes inſiſts ſtrongly, that the grandeur of Philip is wholly owing to the ſupineneſs of the Athenians; and that it is this ſupineneſs which makes him bold, daring, and ſwells him with ſuch a ſpirit of haughtineſs, as even inſults the Athenians.

" See," ſays Demoſthenes to them, ſpeaking of Philip, " to " what a height the arrogance of that man riſes, who will not " ſuffer you to chooſe either action or repoſe; but employs " menaces, and, as fame ſays, ſpeaks in the moſt inſolent terms; " and, not contented with his firſt conqueſts, but incapable of " ſatiating his luſt of dominion, engages every day in ſome " new enterpriſe. Poſſibly, you wait till neceſſity reduces you " to act; can any one be greater to freeborn men than ſhame " and infamy? Will you then for ever walk the public place " with this queſtion in your mouths, " What news is there?" " Can there be greater news than that a Macedonian has van- " quiſhed the Athenians, and made himſelf the ſupreme arbiter " of Greece? " Philip is dead," ſays one; " He is only ſick," " replies another." His being wounded at Methone had oc- " caſioned all theſe reports. " But whether he be ſick or

* Demoſt. 1. Philip.

" dead

" dead is nothing to the purpoſe, O Athens! For the mo-
" ment after heaven had delivered you from him, ſhould you
" ſtill behave as you now do, you would raiſe up another Philip
" againſt yourſelves; ſince the man in queſtion owes his gran-
" deur infinitely more to your indolence, than to his own
" ſtrength."

But Demoſthenes, not ſatisfied with bare remonſtrances, or with giving his opinion in general terms, propoſed a plan, the execution of which he believed would check the attemps of Philip. In the firſt place, he adviſes the Athenians to fit out a fleet of 50 galleys, and to reſolve firmly to man them themſelves. He requires them to reinforce theſe with ten galleys lightly armed, which may ſerve as a convoy to the fleet and tranſports. With regard to the land-forces, as in his time the general, elected by the moſt powerful faction, formed the army only of a confuſed aſſemblage of foreigners and mercenary troops, who did little ſervice; Demoſthenes requires them to levy no more than 2000 choſen troops, 500 of which ſhall be Athenians, and the reſt raiſed from among the allies; with 200 horſe, 50 of which ſhall alſo be Athenians.

The expence of this little army, with regard only to proviſions and other matters independent from their pay, was to amount to little more per month than 90 * talents (90,000 crowns,) *viz.* 40 talents for ten convoy galleys, at the rate of 20 minæ (1000 livres), per month for each galley; 40 talents for the 2000 infantry, and 10 drachms (five livres), per month for each foot-ſoldier; which five livres per month make a little more than three pence farthing French money per diem. Finally, 12 talents for the 200 horſe, at 30 drachms (15 livres) per month for each horſeman; which 15 livres per month make 10 ſols per diem. The reaſon of my relating this ſo particularly, is to give the reader an idea of the expences of an army in thoſe times. Demoſthenes adds, if any one imagines, that the preparation of proviſions is not a conſiderable ſtep, he is very much miſtaken; for he is perſuaded, that provided the forces do not want proviſions, the war will furniſh them with every thing beſides; and that without doing the leaſt wrong to the Greeks or allies, they will not fail of ſufficient acquiſitions to make up all deficiencies and arrears of pay.

But as the Athenians might be ſurpriſed at Demonſthenes's requiring ſo ſmall a body of forces, he gives this reaſon for it, *viz.* that at preſent the commonwealth did not permit the Athenians to oppoſe Philip with a ſufficient force in the field;

* Each talent was worth 1000 crowns.

and

and that it would be their buſineſs to make excurſions only. Thus his deſign was, that this little army ſhould be hovering perpetually about the frontiers of Macedonia, to awe, obſerve, haraſs, and keep cloſe to the enemy, in order to prevent them from concerting and executing ſuch enterpriſes with eaſe, as they might think fit to attempt.

What the ſucceſs of this harangue was, is not known. It is very probable, that as the Athenians were not attacked perſonally, they, according to the ſupineneſs natural to them, were very indolent with regard to the progreſs of Philip's arms. The diviſions at this time in Greece were very favourable to that monarch. Athens and Lacedæmonia on one ſide employed themſelves wholly in reducing the ſtrength of Thebes their rival; whilſt, on the other ſide, the Theſſalians, in order to free themſelves from their tyrants, and the Thebans, to maintain the ſuperiority which they had acquired by the battles of Leuctra and Mantinea, devoted themſelves in the moſt abſolute manner to Philip; and aſſiſted him, undeſignedly, in making chains for themſelves.

Philip, as an able politician, knew well how to take advantage of all theſe diſſenſions. This king, in order to ſecure his frontiers, had nothing more at heart than to enlarge them towards Thrace; and this he could ſcarce attempt but at the expence of the Athenians, who ſince the defeat of Xerxes had many colonies, beſides ſeveral ſtates which were either their allies or tributaries, in that country.

Olynthus, a city of Thrace in the peninſula of Pallene, was one of theſe colonies. The Olynthians had been at great variance with Amyntas, father of Philip, and had even very much oppoſed the latter, upon his acceſſion to the crown. However, being not firmly eſtabliſhed on his throne, he at firſt employed diſſimulation, and requeſted the alliance of the Olynthians, to whom, ſome time after, he gave up Potidæa, an important fortreſs, which he had conquered, in concert with and for them, from the Athenians. When he found himſelf able to execute his project, he took proper meaſures in order to beſiege Olynthus. The inhabitants of this city, who ſaw the ſtorm gathering at a diſtance, had recourſe to the Athenians, of whom they requeſted immediate aid. The affair was debated in an aſſembly of the people, and as it was of the utmoſt importance, a great number of orators met in the aſſembly. Each of them mounted it in his turn, which was regulated by their age. Demoſthenes, who was then but 34, did not ſpeak till after his ſeniors had diſcuſſed the matter a long time.

* In this † diſcourſe, the orator, the better to ſucceed in his aim, alternately terrifies and encourages the Athenians. For this purpoſe, he repreſents Philip in two very different lights. On one ſide, he is a man, whoſe unbounded ambition the empire of the world could not ſatiate; an haughty tyrant, who looks upon all men, and even his allies, as ſo many ſubjects or ſlaves; and who, for that reaſon, is no leſs incenſed by too ſlow a ſubmiſſion, than an open revolt; a vigilant politician, who, always intent to take advantage of the overſights and errors of others, ſeizes every favourable opportunity; an indefatigable warrior, whom his activity multiplies, and who ſupports perpetually the moſt ſevere toils, without allowing himſelf a moment's repoſe, or having the leaſt regard to the difference of ſeaſons; an intrepid hero, who ruſhes through obſtacles, and plunges into the midſt of dangers; a corrupter, who with his purſe traffics, buys, and employs gold no leſs than iron; a happy prince, on whom fortune laviſhes her favours, and for whom ſhe ſeems to have forgot her inconſtancy: but, on the other ſide, this ſame Philip is an imprudent man, who meaſures his vaſt projects, not by his ſtrength, but merely by his ambition; a raſh man, who, by his attempts, digs himſelf the grave of his own grandeur, and opens precipices before him, down which a ſmall effort would throw him; a knave, whoſe power is raiſed on the moſt ruinous of all foundations, breach of faith and villainy; an uſurper, hated univerſally abroad, who, by trampling upon all laws, human and divine, has made all nations his enemies; a tyrant, deteſted even in the heart of his dominions, in which, by the infamy of his manners and other vices, he has tired out the patience of his captains, his ſoldiers, and of all his ſubjects in general; to conclude, a perjured and impious wretch, equally abhorred by heaven and earth, and whom the gods are now upon the point of deſtroying by any hand that will adminiſter to their wrath, and ſecond their vengeance.

This is the double picture of Philip, which M. de Tourreil draws, by uniting the ſeveral detached lineaments in the pre-

* Olynth. ii.

† The oration which Demoſthenes pronounced at that time, is generally looked upon as the ſecond of the three Olynthiacs, which relate to this ſubject. But M. de Tourreil, chiefly on the authority of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, which ought to be of great weight on this occaſion, changes the order generally obſerved in Demoſthenes's orations, and places this at the head of the Olynthiacs. Though I am of this opinion, I ſhall cite the orations in the order they are printed.

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ſent oration of Demoſthenes. In it is ſhown the great freedom with which the Athenians ſpoke of ſo powerful a monarch.

Our orator, after having repreſented Philip one moment as formidable, the next very eaſy to be conquered, concludes, that the only certain method for reducing ſuch an enemy, would be to reform the new abuſes, to revive the ancient order and regulations, to appeaſe domeſtic diſſenſions, and to ſuppreſs the cabals which are inceſſantly forming; and all this in ſuch a manner, that every thing may unite in the ſole point of the public ſervice; and that, at a common expence, every man, according to his abilities, may concur to the deſtruction of the common enemy.

Demades*, bribed by Philip's gold, oppoſed very ſtrenuouſly the advice of Demoſthenes, but in vain; for the Athenians ſent, under the conduct of Chares the general, 30 galleys and 2000 men to ſuccour the Olynthians; who, in this urgent neceſſity, which ſo nearly affected all the Greeks in general, could obtain aſſiſtance only from the Athenians.

However, this ſuccour did not prevent the deſigns of Philip, or the progreſs of his arms; for he marches into Chalcis, takes ſeveral places of ſtrength, the fortreſs of Gira, and ſpreads terror throughout the whole country. Olynthus, being thus in great danger of an invaſion, and menaced with deſtruction, ſent a ſecond embaſſy to Athens, to ſolicit a new reinforcement. Demoſthenes argues very ſtrongly in favour of their requeſt, and proves to the Athenians that they were equally obliged by honour and intereſt to have regard to it. This is the ſubject of the Olynthiac, generally taken as the third.

The orator, always animated with a ſtrong and lively zeal for the ſafety and glory of his country, endeavours to intimidate the Athenians, by ſetting before them the dangers with which they are threatened; exhibiting to them a moſt dreadful proſpect of the future, if they do not rouſe from their lethargy: for that, in caſe Philip ſeizes upon Olynthus, he will inevitably attack Athens afterwards with all his forces.

The greateſt difficulty was the means of raiſing ſufficient ſums for defraying the expences requiſite for the ſuccour of the Olynthians, becauſe the military funds were otherwiſe employed, *viz.* for the celebration of the public games.

When the Athenians, at the end of the war of Ægina, had concluded a thirty years peace with the Lacedæmonians, they reſolved to put into their treaſury, by way of reſerve, 1000

* Suidas in voce Δημάδης.

talents every year; at the ſame time prohibiting any perſon, upon pain of death, to mention the employing any part of it, except for repulſing an enemy who ſhould invade Attica. This was at firſt obſerved with the warmth and fervour which men have for all new inſtitutions. Afterwards Pericles, in order to make his court to the people, propoſed to diſtribute among them, in times of peace*, the 1000 talents, and to apply it in giving to each citizen two oboli at the public ſhows, upon condition, however, that they might reſume this fund in time of war. The propoſal was approved, and the reſtriction alſo. But, as all conceſſions of this kind degenerate one time or other into licence, the Athenians were ſo highly pleaſed with this diſtribution, called by Demades "a glue by which the "Athenians might be catched," that they abſolutely would not ſuffer it to be retrenched on any account. The abuſe was carried to ſuch a height, that Eubulus, one of the faction which oppoſed Demoſthenes, prohibited any perſon, upon pain of death, ſo much as to propoſe the reſtoring, for the ſervice of the war, thoſe funds which Pericles had transferred to the games and public ſhows. Apoliodorus was even puniſhed, for declaring himſelf of a contrary opinion, and for inſiſting upon it.

This abſurd profuſion had very ſtrange effects. It was impoſſible to ſupply it but by impoſing taxes, the inequality of which, being entirely arbitrary, perpetuated ſtrong feuds, and made the military preparations ſo very ſlow, as quite defeated the deſigns of them, without leſſening the expence. As the artificers and ſea-faring people, who compoſed about two-thirds of the people of Athens, did not contribute any part of their ſubſtance, and only gave their perſons, the weight of the taxes fell entirely upon the rich. Theſe murmured upon that account, reproached the others with the public monies being ſquandered upon feſtivals, comedies, and the like ſuperfluities. But the people, being ſenſible of their ſuperiority, paid very little regard to their complaints, and had no manner of inclination to ſubtract from their diverſions, merely to eaſe people who poſſeſſed employments and dignities, from which they were entirely excluded. Beſides, any perſon who ſhould dare to propoſe this to the people ſeriouſly and in form, would be in great danger of his life.

However, Demoſthenes preſumed to introduce this ſubject

* Theſe games, beſides the two oboli which were diſtributed to each of the perſons preſent, occaſioned a great number of other expences.

at

at two different times; but then he treated it with the utmoſt art and circumſpection. After ſhowing that the Athenians were indiſpenſably obliged to raiſe an army, in order to ſtop the enterpriſes of Philip, he hints, but in a diſtant way, that thoſe funds which were expended in theatric repreſentations, ought to be employed for levying and maintaining an armed force. He demanded that commiſſioners might be nominated, not to enact new laws, there being already but too many eſtabliſhed, but to examine and aboliſh ſuch as ſhould be prejudicial to the commonwealth. He did not thereby become obnoxious to capital puniſhment, as enacted by thoſe laws; becauſe he did not require that they ſhould be actually aboliſhed, but only that commiſſioners might be nominated to inſpect them. He only hinted, how highly neceſſary it was to aboliſh a law, which grieved the moſt zealous citizens, and reduced them to this ſad neceſſity, either to ruin themſelves, in caſe they gave their opinion boldly and faithfully, or to deſtroy their country, in caſe they obſerved a fearful prevaricating ſilence.

Theſe remonſtrances do not ſeem to have had the ſucceſs they deſerved, ſince in the following Olynthiac, which is commonly placed as the firſt, the orator was obliged to inveigh once more againſt the miſapplication of the military funds. The Olynthians being now vigorouſly attacked by Philip, and having hitherto been very ill ſerved by the venal ſuccours of Athens, required, by a third embaſſy, a body of troops, which ſhould not conſiſt of mercenaries and foreigners, as before, but of true Athenians, of men inſpired with a ſincere ardour for the intereſt both of their own glory, and the common cauſe. The Athenians, at the earneſt ſolicitation of Demoſthenes, ſent Chares a ſecond time, with a reinforcement of 17 galleys, of 2000 foot, and 300 horſe, all citizens of Athens, as the Olynthians requeſted.

* The following year Philip poſſeſſed himſelf of Olynthus. Neither the ſuccours nor efforts of the Athenians could defend it from its domeſtic enemies. It was betrayed by Euthycrates and Laſthenes, two of its moſt eminent citizens, in actual employment at that time. Thus Philip entered by the breach which his gold had made. Immediately he plunders this unhappy city, lays one part of the inhabitants in chains, and ſells the reſt for ſlaves; and diſtinguiſhes thoſe who had betrayed their city, no otherwiſe than by the ſupreme contempt he expreſſed for them. This king, like his ſon Alexander, loved

* A. M. 3656. Ant. J. C. 348. Diod. l. xvi. 450—452.

the treaſon, but abhorred the traitor. And, indeed, how can a prince rely upon him who has betrayed his country? *Every one, even the common ſoldiers of the Macedonian army, reproached Euthycrates and Laſthenes for their perfidy, who complaining to Philip upon that account, he only made this ironical anſwer, infinitely more ſevere than the reproach itſelf: "Do not mind what a pack of vulgar fellows ſays, who call "every thing by its real name."

The king was overjoyed at his being poſſeſſed of this city, which was of the utmoſt importance to him, as its power might have very much checked his conqueſts. †Some years before, the Olynthians had long reſiſted the united armies of Macedon and Lacedæmonia; whereas Philip had taken it with very little reſiſtance, at leaſt had not loſt many men in the ſiege.

He now cauſed ſhows and public games to be exhibited with the utmoſt magnificence; to theſe he added feaſts, in which he made himſelf very popular, beſtowing on all the gueſts conſiderable gifts, and treating them with the utmoſt marks of his friendſhip.

## SECTION IV.

### PHILIP DECLARES FOR THEBES AGAINST THE PHOCÆANS.—HE SEIZES ON THERMOPYLÆ.

The Thebans, being unable alone to terminate the war‡, which they had ſo long carried on againſt the Phocæans, addreſſed Philip. Hitherto, as we before mentioned, he had obſerved a kind of neutrality with reſpect to the Sacred War; and he ſeemed to wait for an opportunity of declaring himſelf, that is, till both parties ſhould have weakened themſelves by a long war, which equally exhauſted them both. The Thebans had now very much abated of that haughtineſs and thoſe ambitious views with which the victories of Epaminondas had inſpired them. The inſtant therefore that they requeſted the alliance of Philip, he reſolved to eſpouſe the intereſt of that republic, in oppoſition to the Phocæans. He had not loſt ſight of the project he had formed, of obtaining an entrance into Greece, in order to make himſelf maſter of it. To give ſucceſs to his deſign, it was proper for him to declare in favour of one of the two parties, which at that time divided all Greece, that is, either for the Thebans, or the Athenians and Spartans.

* Diod. l. xv. p. 341. † A. M. 3657. Ant. J. C. 347.
‡ Plut. in Apophth. p. 178.

He

He was not so void of sense as to imagine, that the latter party would assist his design of carrying his arms into Greece. He therefore had no more to do but to join the Thebans, who offered themselves voluntarily to him, and who stood in need of Philip's power to support themselves in their declining condition. He therefore declared at once in their favour. But to give a specious colour to his arms, besides the gratitude he affected to have at heart for Thebes, in which he had been educated, he also pretended to make an honour of the zeal with which he was fired, with regard to the violated god; and was very glad to pass for a religious prince, who warmly espoused the cause of the god, and of the temple of Delphos, in order to conciliate by that means the esteem and friendship of the Greeks. Politicians apply every pretext to their views, and endeavour to screen the most unjust attempts with the veil of probity, and sometimes even of religion; though they very frequently have no manner of regard for either.

* There was nothing Philip had more at heart, than to possess himself of Thermopylæ, as it opened him a passage into Greece; to appropriate all the honour of the Sacred War to himself, as if he had been principal in that affair, and to preside in the Pythian games. He was desirous of aiding the Thebans, and by their means to possess himself of Phocis; but then, in order to put this double design in execution, it was necessary for him to keep it secret from the Athenians, who had actually declared war against Thebes, and who for many years had been in alliance with the Phocæans. His business therefore was to make them change their measures, by placing other objects in their view; and on this occasion the politics of Philip succeeded to a wonder.

The Athenians, who began to grow tired of a war which was very burthensome, and of little benefit to them, had commissioned Ctesiphon and Phrynon to sound the intentions of Philip, and in what manner he stood disposed with regard to peace. These related that Philip did not appear averse to it, and that he even expressed a great affection for the commonwealth. Upon this, the Athenians resolved to send a solemn embassy, to inquire more strictly into the truth of things, and to procure the last explanations, previously necessary to so important a negotiation. Æschines and Demosthenes were among the ten ambassadors, who brought back three from Philip, *viz.* Antipater, Parmenio, and Eurylochus. All the ten executed

* Demosth. Orat. de fals. Legat.

their

their commiſſion very faithfully, and gave a very good account of it. Upon this, they were immediately ſent back with full powers to conclude a peace, and to ratify it by oaths. It was then Demoſthenes, who in his firſt embaſſy had met ſome Athenian captives in Macedonia, and had promiſed to return and ranſom them at his own expence, endeavours to enable himſelf to keep his word; and, in the mean time, adviſes his colleagues to embark with the utmoſt expedition, as the republic had commanded; and to wait as ſoon as poſſible upon Philip, in what place ſoever he might be. However, theſe, inſtead of making a ſpeedy diſpatch, as they were deſired, go an ambaſſador's pace, proceed to Macedonia by land, ſtay three months in that country, and give Philip time to poſſeſs himſelf of ſeveral other ſtrong places belonging to the Athenians in Thrace. At laſt, meeting with the king of Macedonia, they agree with him upon articles of peace; but having lulled them aſleep with the ſpecious pretence of a treaty, he deferred the ratification of it from day to day. Philip had found means to corrupt the ambaſſadors one after another by preſents, Demoſthenes excepted, who, being but one, oppoſed his colleagues to no manner of purpoſe.

In the mean time, Philip made his troops advance continually. Being arrived at Pheræ in Theſſaly, he at laſt ratifies the treaty of peace, but refuſes to include the Phocæans in it. When news was brought to Athens, that Philip had ſigned the treaty, it occaſioned very great joy in that city, eſpecially to thoſe who were averſe to the war, and dreaded the conſequences of it. Among theſe was Iſocrates. He * was a citizen very zealous for the commonwealth, whoſe proſperity he had very much at heart. The weakneſs of his voice, with a timidity natural to him, had prevented his appearing in public, and from mounting like others the tribunal of harangues. He had opened ſchool in Athens, in which he read rhetorical lectures, and taught youth eloquence with great reputation and ſucceſs. However, he had not entirely renounced the care of public affairs; and as others ſerved their country *viva voce*, in the public aſſemblies, Iſocrates contributed to it by his writings, in which he delivered his thoughts; and theſe being ſoon made public, were very eagerly ſought after.

On the preſent occaſion, he wrote a piece of conſiderable length, which he addreſſed to Philip, with whom he held a correſpondence, but in ſuch terms as were worthy a good and

* Iſocrat. Orat. ad Philip.

faithful

faithful citizen. He was then very far advanced in years, being at leaſt 88. The ſcope of this diſcourſe was to exhort Philip to take advantage of the peace he had juſt before concluded, in order to reconcile all the Greek nations, and afterwards to turn his arms againſt the king of Perſia. The buſineſs was to engage in this plan four cities, on which all the reſt depended, *viz.* Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and Argos. He confeſſes, that had Sparta or Athens been as powerful as formerly, he ſhould have been far from making ſuch a propoſal, which he was ſenſible they would never approve; and which the pride of thoſe two republics, whilſt ſuſtained and augmented by ſucceſs, would reject with diſdain. But that now, as the moſt powerful cities of Greece, wearied out and exhauſted by long wars, and humbled in their turns by fatal reverſes of fortune, have equally an intereſt in laying down their arms, and living in peace, purſuant to the example which the Athenians had begun to ſet them, the preſent is the moſt favourable opportunity Philip could have, to reconcile and unite the ſeveral cities of Greece.

In caſe he, Philip, ſhould be ſo happy as to ſucceed in ſuch a project, ſo glorious and beneficial a ſucceſs would raiſe him above whatever had appeared moſt auguſt in Greece. But this project in itſelf, though it ſhould not have ſo happy an effect as he might expect from it, would yet infallibly gain him the eſteem, the affection, and confidence of all the nations of Greece; advantages infinitely preferable to the taking of cities, and all the conqueſts he might hope to obtain.

Some perſons indeed, who were prejudiced againſt Philip, repreſent and exclaim againſt him as a crafty prince, who gives a ſpecious pretext to his march, but, at the ſame time, has in reality no other object in view but the enſlaving of Greece. Iſocrates, either from a too great credulity, or from a deſire of bringing Philip into his views, ſuppoſes, that rumours ſo injurious as theſe have no manner of foundation; it not being probable, that a prince who glories in being deſcended from Hercules, the deliverer of Greece, ſhould think of invading and poſſeſſing himſelf of it. But theſe very reports, which are ſo capable of blackening his name, and of ſullying all his glory, ſhould prompt him to demonſtrate the falſity of them in the preſence of all Greece by the leaſt ſuſpicious of proofs, in leaving and maintaining each city in the full poſſeſſion of its laws and liberties; in removing with the utmoſt care all ſuſpicions of partiality; in not eſpouſing the intereſt of one people againſt another; in winning the confidence of all men by a noble diſ-

intereſtedneſs

intereſtedneſs and an invariable love of juſtice: in fine, by aſpiring to no other title than that of the reconciler of the diviſions of Greece, a title far more glorious than that of conqueror.

It is in the king of Perſia's dominions he ought to merit thoſe laſt titles. The conqueſt of it is open and ſure to him, in caſe he could ſucceed in pacifying the troubles of Greece. He ſhould call to mind that Ageſilaus, with no other forces than thoſe of Sparta, ſhook the Perſian throne, and would infallibly have ſubverted it, had he not been recalled into Greece, by the inteſtine diviſions which then broke out. The ſignal victory of the 10,000 under Clearchus, and their triumphant retreat in the ſight of innumerable armies, prove what might be expected from the joint forces of the Macedonians and Greeks, when commanded by Philip againſt a prince inferior in every reſpect to him whom Cyrus had endeavoured to dethrone.

Iſocrates concludes with declaring, that one would believe the gods had hitherto granted Philip ſo long a train of ſucceſſes, with no other view but that he might be enabled to form and execute the glorious enterpriſe, the plan of which he had laid before him. He reduces the counſel he gave to three heads: that this prince ſhould govern his own empire with wiſdom and juſtice; ſhould heal the diviſions between the neighbouring nations and all Greece, without deſiring to poſſeſs any part of it himſelf; and this being done, that he ſhould turn his victorious arms againſt a country, which from all ages had been the enemy of Greece, and had often vowed their deſtruction. It muſt be confeſſed, that this is a moſt noble plan, and highly worthy a great prince. But Iſocrates had a very falſe idea of Philip, if he thought this monarch would ever put it in execution. Philip did not poſſeſs the equity, moderation, or diſintereſtedneſs, which ſuch a project required. He really intended to attack Perſia, but was perſuaded, that it was his buſineſs to ſecure himſelf firſt of Greece, which indeed he was determined to do, not by ſervices but by force. He did not endeavour either to win over or perſuade nations, but ſubject and reduce them. As on his ſide he had no manner of regard for alliances and treaties, he judged of others by himſelf, and was for aſſuring himſelf of them by much ſtronger ties than thoſe of friendſhip, gratitude, and ſincerity.

As Demoſthenes was better acquainted with the ſtate of affairs than Iſocrates, ſo he formed a truer judgment of Philip's deſigns. Upon his return from his embaſſy, he declares expreſsly,

preſsly, that he does not approve either of the diſcourſe or the conduct of the Macedonian king, but that every thing is to be dreaded from him. On the contrary, Æſchines, who had been bribed, aſſures the Athenians, that he had diſcovered the greateſt candour and ſincerity in the promiſes and proceedings of this king. He had engaged that Theſpiæ and Platæa ſhould be repeopled, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the Thebans; that in caſe he ſhould proceed ſo far as to ſubject the Phocæans, he would preſerve them, and not do them the leaſt injury; that he would reſtore Thebes to the good order which had before been obſerved in it; that Oropus ſhould be given up abſolutely to the Athenians; and that in lieu of Amphipolis they ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Eubœa. It was to no purpoſe that Demoſthenes remonſtrated to his fellow-citizens, that Philip, notwithſtanding all theſe glorious promiſes, endeavoured to poſſeſs himſelf, in an abſolute manner, of Phocis; and that by abandoning it to him they would betray the commonwealth, and give up all Greece into his hands. He was not heard, and the oration of Æſchines, who engaged that Philip would make good his ſeveral promiſes, prevailed over that of Demoſthenes.

* Theſe deliberations gave that prince an opportunity to poſſeſs himſelf of Thermopylæ, and to enter Phocis. Hitherto there had been no poſſibility of reducing the Phocæans; but Philip needed but appear, for the bare ſound of his name filled them with terror. Upon the ſuppoſition that he was marching againſt a herd of ſacrilegious wretches, not againſt common enemies, he ordered all his ſoldiers to wear crowns of laurel, and led them to battle as under the conduct of the god himſelf whoſe honour they revenged. The inſtant they appeared, the Phocæans believed themſelves overcome. Accordingly they ſue for peace, and yield to Philip's mercy, who gives Phalecus their leader leave to retire into Peloponneſus, with the 8000 men in his ſervice. In this manner Philip, with very little trouble, engroſſed all the honour of a long and bloody war, which had exhauſted the forces of both parties. †This victory gained him incredible honour throughout all Greece, and his glorious expedition was the topic of all converſations in that country. He was conſidered as the avenger of ſacrilege, and the

* A. M. 3658. Ant. J. C. 346. Diod. l. xvi. p. 455.

† Incredibile quantum ea res apud omnes nationes Philippo gloriæ dedit. Illum vindicem ſacrilegii, illum ultorem religionum. Itaque Diis proximus habetur, per quem deorum majeſtas vindicata ſit. Juſtin. l. viii. c. 2.

protector

protector of religion; and they almoſt ranked in the number of the gods the man who had defended their majeſty with ſo much courage and ſucceſs.

Philip, that he might not ſeem to do any thing by his own private authority, in an affair which concerned all Greece, aſſembles the council of the Amphictyons, and appoints them, for form ſake, ſupreme judges of the pains and penalties to which the Phocæans had rendered themſelves obnoxious. Under the name of theſe judges, who were entirely at his devotion, he decrees that the cities of Phocis ſhall be deſtroyed, that they ſhall all be reduced to ſmall towns of 60 houſes each, and that thoſe towns ſhall be at a certain diſtance one from the other; that thoſe wretches, who have committed ſacrilege, ſhall be abſolutely proſcribed; and that the reſt ſhall not enjoy their poſſeſſions, but upon condition of paying an annual tribute, which ſhall continue to be levied till ſuch time as the whole ſums taken out of the temple of Delphos ſhall be repaid. Philip did not forget himſelf on this occaſion. After he had ſubjected the rebellious Phocæans, he demanded that their ſeat in the council of the Amphictyons, which they had been declared to have forfeited, ſhould be transferred to him. The Amphictyons, the inſtrument of whoſe vengeance he had now been, were afraid of refuſing him, and accordingly admitted him a member of their body; a circumſtance of the higheſt importance to him, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, and of very dangerous conſequence to all the reſt of Greece. They alſo gave him the ſuperintendence of the Pythian games, in conjunction with the Bœotians and Theſſalians; becauſe the Corinthians, who poſſeſſed this privilege hitherto, had rendered themſelves unworthy of it, by ſharing in the ſacrilege of the Phocæans.

When news was brought to Athens of the treatment which the Phocæans had met with, the former perceived, but too late, the wrong ſtep they had taken in refuſing to comply with the councils of Demoſthenes; and in abandoning themſelves blindly to the vain and idle promiſes of a traitor who had ſold his country. Beſides the ſhame and grief with which they were ſeized, for having failed in the obligations of the* confederacy, they found that they had betrayed their own intereſts in abandoning their allies; for Philip, by poſſeſſing himſelf of Phocis, was become maſter of Thermopylæ, which opened him the gates, and put into his hands the keys of Greece. † The

* With the Phocæans.

† Demoſt. de falſ. Legat. p. 312.

Athenians,

Athenians, therefore, being alarmed upon their own account, gave orders that the women and children ſhould be brought out of the country into the city; that the walls ſhould be repaired, and the Piræus fortified, in order to put themſelves into a ſtate of defence in caſe of an invaſion.

The Athenians had no ſhare in the decree by which Philip had been admitted among the Amphictyons. They perhaps had abſented themſelves purpoſely, that they might not authorize it by their preſence; or, which is more probable, Philip, in order to remove the obſtacles, and avoid the remoras he might meet with in the execution of his deſign, aſſembled ſuch of the Amphictyons only as were entirely at his devotion. In ſhort, he conducted his intrigue ſo very artfully, that he obtained his ends. This election might be diſputed as clandeſtine and irregular; and therefore he required a confirmation of it from the people, who, as members of that body, had a right either to reject or ratify the new choice. Athens received the circular invitation; but in an aſſembly of the people, which was called in order to deliberate on Philip's demand, ſeveral were of opinion, that no notice ſhould be taken of it. Demoſthenes, however, was of a contrary opinion; and though he did not approve in any manner of the peace which had been concluded with Philip, he did not think it would be for their intereſt to infringe it in the preſent juncture; ſince that could not be done without ſtirring up againſt the Athenians, both the new Amphyction, and thoſe who had elected him. His advice therefore was, that they ſhould not expoſe themſelves unſeaſonably to the dangerous conſequences which might enſue, in caſe of their determinate refuſal to conſent to the almoſt unanimous decree of the Amphyctions; and proteſted, that it was their intereſt to ſubmit, for fear of worſe, to the preſent condition of the times; that is, to comply with what it was not in their power to prevent. This is the ſubject of Demoſthenes's diſcourſe, entitled, Oration on the Peace. We may reaſonably believe that his advice was followed.

## SECTION V.

### PHILIP EXTENDS HIS CONQUESTS INTO ILLYRIA AND THRACE.—CHARACTER OF PHOCION—HIS SUCCESS AGAINST PHILIP.

After Philip had ſettled every thing relating to the worſhip of the god *, and the ſecurity of the temple of Delphos,

* A. M. 3660. Ant. J. C. 344.

he returned into Macedonia with great glory, and the reputation of a religious prince and an intrepid conqueror. * Diodorus obſerves, that all thoſe who had ſhared in profaning and plundering the temple, periſhed miſerably, and came to a tragical end.

†Philip, ſatisfied that he had opened himſelf a paſſage into Greece by his ſeizure of Thermopylæ; that he had ſubjected Phocis; had eſtabliſhed himſelf one of the judges of Greece, by his new dignity of Amphyction; and that he had gained the eſteem and applauſe of all nations, by his zeal to revenge the honour of the deity; judged very prudently, that it would be proper for him to ſtop his career, in order to prevent all the ſtates of Greece from taking arms againſt him, in caſe they ſhould diſcover too ſoon his ambitious views with regard to that country. In order therefore to remove all ſuſpicion, and to ſoothe the diſquietudes which aroſe on that occaſion, he turned his arms againſt Illyria, purpoſely to extend his frontiers on that ſide, and to keep always his troops in exerciſe by ſome new expedition.

The ſame motive prompted him afterwards to go over into Thrace. In the very beginning of his reign he had diſpoſſeſſed the Athenians of ſeveral ſtrong places in that country. Philip ſtill carried on his conqueſts there. ‡ Suidas obſerves, that before he took Olynthus, he had made himſelf maſter of 32 cities in Chalcis, which is part of Thrace. Cherſoneſus alſo was ſituated very commodiouſly for him. This was a very rich peninſula, in which there were a great number of powerful cities and fine paſture lands. It had formerly belonged to the Athenians. The inhabitants of it put themſelves under the protection of Lacedæmonia, after Lyſander had deſtroyed Athens, but ſubmitted again to their firſt maſters, after Conon, the ſon of Timotheus, had reinſtated his country. Cotys, king of Thrace, then diſpoſſeſſed the Athenians of Cherſoneſus; § but it was afterwards reſtored to them by Cherſobleptus, ſon of Cotys, who finding himſelf unable to defend it againſt Philip, gave it up to them the fourth year of the 106th Olympiad; reſerving however to himſelf Cardia, which was the moſt conſiderable city of the peninſula, and formed, as it were, the gate and entrance of it. || After Philip had deprived Cherſobleptus of his kingdom, which happened the ſecond year of the 109th Olympiad**, the inhabitants of Cardia

* Diod. l. xvi. p. 456. † Ibid. p. 463.
‡ In Κέρσα. § Diod. l. xvi. p. 434. || Ibid. p. 464.
** A. M. 3669. Ant. J. C. 335.

being

being afraid of falling into the hands of the Athenians, who claimed their city, which formerly belonged to them, submitted themselves to Philip, who did not fail to take them under his protection.

* Diopithes, principal of the colony which the Athenians had sent into Chersonesus, looking upon this step in Philip as an act of hostility against the commonwealth, without waiting for an order, and fully persuaded that it would not be disavowed, marches suddenly into the dominions of that prince in the maritime part of Thrace, whilst he was carrying on an important war in Upper Thrace; plunders them before he had time to return and make head against him, and carries off a rich booty, all which he lodged safe in Chersonesus. Philip, not being able to revenge himself in the manner he could have wished, contented himself with making grievous complaints to the Athenians, by letters, upon that account. Such as received pensions from him in Athens, served him but too effectually. These venal wretches loudly exclaimed against a conduct, which, if not prudent, was at least excusable. They declaim against Diopithes; impeach him of involving the state in a war; accuse him of extortion and piracy; insist upon his being recalled, and pursue his condemnation with the utmost heat and violence.

Demosthenes, seeing at this juncture that the public welfare was inseparable from that of Diopithes, undertook his defence, which is the subject of his Oration of Chersonesus. This Diopithes was father to Menander, the comic poet, whom Terence has copied so faithfully.

Diopithes was accused of oppressing the allies by his unjust exactions. However, Demosthenes lays the least stress on this, because it was personal; he nevertheless pleads his apology (transiently) from the example of all the generals, to whom the islands and cities of Asia Minor paid certain voluntary contributions, by which they purchased security to their merchants, and procured convoys for them to guard them against the pirates. It is true, indeed, that a man may exercise oppressions, and ransom allies very unseasonably. But in this case, a bare decree †, an accusation in due form, a galley appointed to bring whom the general recalled; all this is sufficient to put a stop to abuses. But it is otherwise with regard to Philip's enterprises. These cannot be checked either

* A. M. 3670. Ant. J. C. 334. Liban. in Demost. p. 75.

† It was called Πάραλος.

by decrees or menaces; and nothing will do this effectually, but raiſing troops, and fitting out galleys.

"Your orators," ſays he, "cry out eternally to you, that "we muſt make choice either of peace or war; but Philip "does not leave this at our option, he who is daily meditating "ſome new enterpriſes againſt us. And can we doubt but it "was he who broke the peace, unleſs it is pretended, that we "have no reaſon to complain of him, as long as he ſhall for- "bear making any attempts on Attica and the Piræus? But "it will then be too late for us to oppoſe him; and it is now "we muſt prepare ſtrong barriers againſt his ambitious de- "ſigns. You ought to lay it down as a certain maxim, O "Athenians, that it is you he aims at; that he conſiders you "as his moſt dangerous enemies; that your ruin only can eſ- "tabliſh his tranquillity, and ſecure his conqueſts; and that "whatever he is now projecting, is merely with the view of "falling upon you, and of reducing Athens to a ſtate of ſub- "jection. And, indeed, can any of you be ſo vaſtly ſimple, "as to imagine that Philip is ſo greedy of a few paltry towns*, "(for what other name can we beſtow on thoſe he now at- "tacks?), that he ſubmits to fatigues, ſeaſons, and dangers, "merely for the ſake of gaining them; but that as for the "harbours, the arſenals, the galleys, the ſilver mines, and "the immenſe revenues of the Athenians; that he, I ſay, "conſiders theſe with indifference, does not covet them in the "leaſt, but will ſuffer you to remain in quiet poſſeſſion of "them?

"What concluſion are we to draw from all that has been "ſaid? Why, that ſo far from caſhiering the army we have "in Thrace, it muſt be conſiderably reinforced and ſtrength- "ened by new levies, in order, that as Philip has always one "in readineſs to oppreſs and enſlave the Greeks, we, on our "ſide, may always have one on foot, to defend and preſerve "them." There is reaſon to believe, that Demoſthenes's ad- vice was followed.

† The ſame year that this oration was ſpoke, Arymbas, king of Moloſſus, or Epirus, died. He was ſon of Alcetas, and had a brother called Neoptolemus, whoſe daughter Olympias was married to Philip. This Neoptolemus, by the credit and authority of his ſon-in-law, was raiſed ſo high as to ſhare the regal power with his elder brother, to whom only it lawfully belonged. This firſt unjuſt action was followed by a greater;

* In Thrace.

† Diod. l. xvi. p. 465.

for

for after the death of Arymbas *, Philip played his part so well, either by his intrigues or his menaces, that the Molossians expelled Æacidas, son and lawful successor to Arymbas, and established Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, sole king of Epirus. This prince, who was not only brother-in-law, but son-in-law to Philip, whose daughter Cleopatra he had married, as will be observed in the sequel, carried his arms into Italy, and there died. After this, Æacidas reascended the throne of his ancestors, reigned alone in Epirus, and transmitted the crown to his son, the famous Pyrrhus, so famous in the Roman history, and second cousin to Alexander the Great, Alcetas being grandfather to both these monarchs.

Philip, after his expedition in Illyria and Thrace, turned his views towards Peloponnesus. † Terrible commotions prevailed at that time in this part of Greece. Lacedæmonia assumed the sovereignty of it, with no other right than of being the strongest. Argos and Messene being oppressed, had recourse to Philip. He had just before concluded a peace with the Athenians, who, on the faith of their orators who had been bribed by this prince, imagined he was going to break with the Thebans. However, so far from that, after having subdued Phocis, he divided the conquest with them. The Thebans embraced with joy the favourable opportunity which presented itself, of opening him a gate through which he might pass into Peloponnesus, in which country, the inveterate hatred they bore to Sparta made them foment divisions perpetually, and continue the war. They therefore solicited Philip to join with them, the Messenians and Argives, in order to humble in concert the power of Lacedæmonia.

This prince readily came into an alliance which suited with his views. He proposed to the Amphictyons, or rather dictated to them, the decree which ordained that Lacedæmonia should permit Argos and Messene to enjoy an entire independence, pursuant to the tenor of a treaty lately concluded; and upon pretence of not exposing the authority of the states-general of Greece, he ordered at the same time a large body of troops to march that way. Lacedæmonia, being justly alarmed, requested the Athenians to succour them; and by an embassy pressed earnestly for the concluding of such an alliance as their common safety might require. The several powers,

* Justin, b. viii. ch. vi. curtails the genealogy of this prince, and confounds this succession.

† Demosth. in Philip. ii. Liban. in Demosth.

whoſe intereſt it was to prevent this alliance from being concluded, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to gain their ends. Philip repreſented, by his ambaſſadors to the Athenians, that it would be very wrong in them to declare war againſt him; that if he did not break with the Thebans, his not doing ſo was no infraction of the treaties; that before he could have broke his word in this particular, he muſt firſt have given it; and that the treaties themſelves proved manifeſtly, that he had not made any promiſe to that purpoſe. Philip indeed ſaid true, with regard to the written articles and the public ſtipulations; but Æſchines had made this promiſe by word of mouth in his name. On the other ſide, the ambaſſadors of Thebes, of Argos and Meſſene, were alſo very urgent with the Athenians; and reproached them with having already ſecretly favoured the Lacedæmonians but too much, who were the profeſſed enemies to the Thebans, and the tyrants of Peloponneſus.

* But Demoſthenes, inſenſible to all theſe ſolicitations, and mindful of nothing but the real intereſt of his country, aſcended the tribunal, in order to enforce the negociation of the Lacedæmonians. He reproached the Athenians, according to his uſual cuſtom, with ſupineneſs and indolence. He expoſes the ambitious deſigns of Philip, which he ſtill purſues; and declares that they aim at no leſs than the conqueſt of all Greece. "You excel," ſays he to them, "both you and he, "in that circumſtance which is the object of your application "and your cares. You ſpeak in a better manner than him, "and he acts better than you. The experience of the paſt "ought at leaſt to open your eyes, and make you more ſuſpici- "ous and circumſpect with regard to him: but this ſerves to "no other purpoſe than to lull you aſleep. At this time his "troops are marching towards Peloponneſus; he is ſend- "ing money to it, and his arrival in perſon, at the head of a "powerful army, is expected every moment. Do you think "that you will be ſecure, after he ſhall have poſſeſſed himſelf "of the territories around you? Art has invented, for the ſe- "curity of cities, various methods of defence, as ramparts, walls, "ditches, and the like works; but nature ſurrounds the wiſe "with a common bulwark, which covers them on all ſides, and "provides for the ſecurity of ſtates. What is this bulwark? "It is diffidence." He concludes with exhorting the Athenians to rouſe from their lethargy; to ſend immediate ſuccour to the Lacedæmonians; and, above all, to puniſh directly all

* Philip. ii.

ſuch

ſuch domeſtic traitors as have deceived the people, and brought their preſent calamities upon them, by ſpreading falſe reports, and employing captious aſſurances.

The Athenians and Philip did not yet come to an open rupture; whence we may conjecture, that the latter delayed his invaſion of Peloponneſus, in order that he might not have too many enemies upon his hands at the ſame time. However, he did not ſit ſtill, but turned his views another way. Philip had a long time conſidered Eubœa as proper, from its ſituation, to favour the deſigns he meditated againſt Greece; and, in the very beginning of his reign, had attempted to poſſeſs himſelf of it. He indeed ſet every engine at work at that time, in order to ſeize upon that iſland, which he called the Shackles of Greece. But it nearly concerned the Athenians, on the other ſide, not to ſuffer it to fall into the hands of an enemy; eſpecially as it might be joined to the continent of Attica by a bridge. However, that people, according to their uſual cuſtom, continued indolent whilſt Philip purſued his conqueſts. The latter, who was continually attentive and vigilant over his intereſt, endeavoured to carry on an intelligence in the iſland, and by dint of preſents bribed thoſe who had the greateſt authority in it. * At the requeſt of certain of the inhabitants, he ſent ſome troops privately thither; poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral ſtrong places; diſmantled Porthmos, a very important fortreſs in Eubœa, and eſtabliſhed three tyrants or kings over the country. He alſo ſeized upon Oreum, one of the ſtrongeſt cities of Eubœa, of which it poſſeſſed the fourth part; and eſtabliſhed five tyrants over it, who exerciſed an abſolute authority there in his name.

† Upon this, Plutarch of Eretria ſent a deputation to the Athenians, conjuring them to come and deliver that iſland, every part of which was upon the point of ſubmitting entirely to the Macedonians. The Athenians, upon this, ſent ſome troops under the command of Phocion. ‡ That general had already acquired great reputation, and will have, in the ſequel, a great ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs, both foreign and domeſtic. He had ſtudied in the academy under Plato, and afterwards under Xenocrates, and in that ſchool had formed his morals and his life, upon the model of the moſt auſtere virtue. We are told, that no Athenian ever ſaw him laugh, weep, or go to the public baths. Whenever he went into the coun-

* Demoſth. Philip. iii. p. 93. † Plut. in Phoc. p. 746, 747.
‡ Ibid. p. 743—745.

try,

try, or was in the army, he always walked * barefoot, and without a cloak, unleſs the weather happened to be inſupportably cold; ſo that the ſoldiers uſed to ſay laughing, "See! Phocion has got his cloak on; it is a ſign of a hard winter."

He knew that eloquence is a neceſſary quality in a ſtateſman, for enabling him to execute happily the great deſigns he may undertake during his adminiſtration. He therefore applied himſelf particularly to the attainment of it, and with great ſucceſs. Perſuaded that it is with words as with coins, of which the moſt eſteemed are thoſe that with leſs weight have moſt intrinſic value, Phocion had formed himſelf to a lively, cloſe, conciſe ſtyle, which expreſſed a great many ideas in few words. Appearing one day abſent in an aſſembly, where he was preparing to ſpeak, he was aſked the reaſon of it: "I am conſidering," ſays he, "whether it is not poſſible for me to retrench any part of the diſcourſe I am to make." He was a ſtrong reaſoner, and by that means carried every thing againſt the moſt ſublime eloquence; which made Demoſthenes, who had often experienced this, whenever he appeared to harangue the public, ſay, "There is the axe which cuts away the effects of my words." One would imagine, that this kind of eloquence is abſolutely contrary to the genius of the vulgar, who require the ſame things to be often repeated, and with greater extent, in order to their being the more intelligible. But it was not ſo with the Athenians: lively, penetrating, and lovers of a hidden ſenſe, they valued themſelves upon underſtanding an orator at half a word, and really underſtood him. Phocion adapted himſelf to their taſte, and in this point ſurpaſſed even Demoſthenes; which is ſaying a great deal.

Phocion obſerving that thoſe perſons, who at this time were concerned in the adminiſtration, had divided it into military and civil; that one part, as Eubulus, Ariſtophon, Demoſthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides, confined themſelves merely to haranguing the people, and propoſing decrees; that the other part, as Diopithes, Leoſthenes, and Chares, advanced themſelves by military employments; he choſe rather to imitate the conduct of Solon, Ariſtides, and Pericles, who had known how to unite both talents, the arts of government with military valour. Whilſt he was in employment, peace and tranquillity were always his object, as being the end of every wiſe government; and yet he commanded in more expeditions, not only than all the generals of his time, but even than all his predeceſſors.

* Socrates uſed often to walk in that manner.

He

He was honoured with the ſupreme command 45 times, without having once aſked or made intereſt for it; and was always appointed to command the armies in his abſence. The world was aſtoniſhed, that, being of ſo ſevere a turn of mind, and ſo great an enemy to flattery of every kind, how it was poſſible for him, in a manner to fix in his own favour the natural levity and inconſtancy of the Athenians, though he frequently uſed to oppoſe very ſtrenuouſly their will and caprice, without regard to their captiouſneſs and delicacy. The idea they had formed to themſelves of his probity and zeal for the public good, extinguiſhed every other opinion of him; and that, according to Plutarch, generally made his eloquence ſo efficacious and triumphant.

I thought it neceſſary to give the reader this idea of Phocion's character, becauſe frequent mention will be made of him in the ſequel. It was to him the Athenians gave the command of the forces they ſent to the aid of Plutarch of Eretria. But this traitor repaid his benefactors with ingratitude, ſet up the ſtandard againſt them, and endeavoured openly to repulſe the very army he had requeſted. However, Phocion was not at a loſs how to act upon this unforeſeen perfidy; for he purſued his enterpriſe, won a battle, and drove Plutarch from Eretria.

After this great ſucceſs, Phocion returned to Athens; but he was no ſooner gone, than all the allies regretted the abſence of his goodneſs and juſtice. Though the profeſſed enemy of every kind of oppreſſion and extortion, he knew how to inſinuate himſelf into the minds of men with art; and at the ſame time he made others fear him, he had the rare talent of making them love him ſtill more. He one day made Chabrias a fine anſwer, who appointed him to go with ten light veſſels to raiſe the tribute which certain cities, in alliance with Athens, paid every year. "To what purpoſe," ſays he, "is ſuch a "ſquadron? Too ſtrong, if I am only to viſit allies; but too "weak, if I am to fight enemies." The Athenians knew very well by the conſequences, the ſignal ſervice which Phocion's great capacity, valour, and experience, had done them in the expedition of Eubœa; for Moloſſus, who ſucceeded him, and who took upon himſelf the command of the troops after that general, was ſo unſucceſsful, that he fell into the hands of the enemy.

* Philip, who did not lay aſide the deſign he had formed of conquering all Greece, changed the attack, and ſought for an

* Demoſth. pro Ctef. p. 486, 487.

opportunity

opportunity of diſtreſſing Athens another way. He knew that this city, from the barrenneſs of Attica, ſtood in greater want of foreign corn than any other*. To diſpoſe at diſcretion of their tranſports, and by that means ſtarve Athens, he marches towards Thrace, from whence that city imported the greateſt part of its proviſions, with an intention to beſiege Perinthus and Byzantium. To keep his kingdom in obedience during his abſence, he left his ſon Alexander in it, with ſovereign authority, though he was but fifteen years old. This young prince gave, even at that time, ſome proofs of his courage; having defeated certain neighbouring ſtates, ſubject to Macedonia, who had conſidered the king's abſence as a very proper time for executing the deſign they had formed of revolting. This happy ſucceſs of Alexander's firſt expeditions was highly agreeable to his father, and at the ſame time an earneſt of what might be expected from him. But fearing leſt, allured by this dangerous bait, he ſhould abandon himſelf inconſiderately to his vivacity and fire, he ſent for him, in order to become his maſter, and form him in perſon for the trade of war.

Demoſthenes ſtill continued his invectives againſt the indolence of the Athenians, whom nothing could rouſe from their lethargy; and alſo againſt the avarice of the orators, who, bribed by Philip, amuſed the people upon the ſpecious pretence of a peace he had ſworn to, and however violated openly every day, by the enterpriſes he formed againſt the commonwealth. This is the ſubject of his orations, called the Philippics.

† "Whence comes it," ſays he, "that all the Greeks formerly panted ſo ſtrongly after liberty, and now run ſo eagerly into ſervitude? The reaſon is, becauſe there prevailed at that time among the people what prevails no longer among us; that which triumphed over the riches of the Perſians; which maintained the freedom of Greece; which never acted inconſiſtently on any occaſion either by ſea or by land; but which, being now extinguiſhed in every heart, has entirely ruined our affairs, and ſubverted the conſtitution of Greece. It is that common hatred, that general deteſtation, in which they held every perſon who had a ſoul abject enough to ſell himſelf to any man who deſired either to enſlave, or even corrupt Greece. In thoſe times, to accept of a preſent was a capital crime, which never failed of being puniſhed with death. Neither their orators nor their

* A. M. 3664. Ant. J. C. 340. † Philip iii. p. 90.

"generals

" generals exercised the scandalous traffic, now become so " common in Athens, where a price is set upon every thing, " and where all things are sold to the highest bidder.

* " In those happy times, the Greeks lived in a perfect union, " founded on the love of the public good, and the desire of " preserving and defending the common liberty. But in this " age, the states abandon one another, and give themselves " up to reciprocal distrusts and jealousies. All of them, with- " out exception, Argives, Thebans, Corinthians, Lacedæmo- " nians, Arcadians, and ourselves no less than others; all, all, " I say, form a separate interest; and this is it that renders " the common enemy so powerful.

† " The safety of Greece consists therefore in uniting " together against this common enemy, if that be possible. " But at least, as to what concerns each of us in particular, this " inconteslable maxim it is absolutely necessary to hold, that " Philip attacks you actually at this time; that he has infring- " ed the peace; that by seizing upon all the fortresses around " you, he opens and prepares the way for attacking you your- " selves; and that he considers us as his mortal enemies, be- " cause he knows that we only are able to oppose the ambiti- " ous designs he entertains of grasping universal power.

‡ " These consequently we must oppose with all imaginable " vigour; and for that purpose must ship off, without loss of " time, the necessary aids for Chersonesus and Byzantium; " you must provide instantly whatever necessaries your gene- " rals may require; in fine, you must concert together on such " means as are most proper to save Greece, which is now " threatened with the utmost danger. § Though all the rest " of the Greeks, O Athenians, should bow their necks to the " yoke, yet you ought to persist in fighting always for the " cause of liberty. After such preparations, made in presence " of all Greece, let us excite all other states to second us; let " us acquaint every people with our resolutions, and send am- " bassadors to Peloponnesus, Rhodes, Chio, and especially to " the king of Persia; for it is his interest, as well as ours, to " check the career of that man."

The sequel will show, that Demosthenes's advice was follow- ed almost exactly. At the time he was declaiming in this manner, Philip was marching towards Chersonesus. He opened the campaign with the siege of Perinthus, a considerable

* Philipp. iv. p. 102. † Ibid. iii. p. 97.
‡ Ibid. iii. p. 88. § Ibid. p. 94, 95.

city

city of Thrace. *The Athenians having prepared a body of troops to ſuccour that place, the orators prevailed ſo far by their ſpeeches, that Chares was appointed commander of the fleet. This general was univerſally deſpiſed, for his manners, oppreſſions, and mean capacity; but intereſt and credit ſupplied the place of merit on this occaſion, and faction prevailed againſt the counſels of the moſt prudent and virtuous men, as happens but too often. The ſucceſs anſwered the raſhneſs of the choice which had been made: †but what could be expected from a general, whoſe abilities were as ſmall as his voluptuouſneſs was great; who took along with him in his military expeditions, a band of muſicians, both vocal and inſtrumental, who were in his pay, which was levied out of the monies appointed for the ſervice of the fleet! In ſhort, the cities themſelves, to whoſe ſuccour he was ſent, would not ſuffer him to come into their harbours; ſo that his fidelity being univerſally ſuſpected, he was obliged to ſail from coaſt to coaſt, buying the allies, and contemned by the enemy.

‡ In the mean time Philip was carrying on the ſiege of Perinthus with great vigour. He had 30,000 choſen troops, and military engines of all kinds without number. He had raiſed towers 80 cubits high, which far out-topped thoſe of the Perinthians. He therefore had a great advantage in battering their walls. On one ſide he ſhook the foundations of them by ſubterraneous mines; and on the other, he beat down whole angles of it with his battering-rams: nor did the beſieged make a leſs vigorous reſiſtance; for as ſoon as one breach was made, Philip was ſurpriſed to ſee another wall behind it, juſt raiſed. The inhabitants of Byzantium ſent them all the ſuccours neceſſary. The Aſiatic ſatrapæ, or governors, by the king of Perſia's order, whoſe aſſiſtance we obſerved the Athenians had requeſted, likewiſe threw forces into the place. Philip, in order to deprive the beſieged of the ſuccours the Byzantines gave them, went in perſon to form the ſiege of that important city, leaving half his army to carry on that of Perinthus.

He was deſirous to appear, in outward ſhow, very tender of giving umbrage to the Athenians, whoſe power he dreaded, and whom he endeavoured to amuſe with fine words. At the times we now ſpeak of, Philip, by way of precaution againſt their diſguſt of his meaſures, wrote a letter to them, in which he endeavours to take off the edge of their reſentments, by

* Plutarch in Phoc. p. 747. † Athen. l. xii. p. 530.
‡ Diod. l. xvi. p. 466—468.

reproaching

reproaching them, in the ſtrongeſt terms, for their infraction of the ſeveral treaties, which he boaſts he had obſerved very religiouſly. This piece he interſperſed very artfully (for he was a great maſter of eloquence) with ſuch complaints and menaces, as are beſt calculated to reſtrain mankind, either from a principle of fear or ſhame. This letter is a maſter-picce in the original. A majeſtic and perſuaſive vivacity ſhines in every part of it; a ſtrength and juſtneſs of reaſoning, ſuſtained throughout; a plain and unaffected declaration of facts, each of which is followed by its natural conſequence; a delicate irony; in fine, that noble and conciſe ſtyle ſo proper for crowned heads. We might here very juſtly apply to Philip what was ſaid of Cæſar*, "That he handled the pen as well as he did the "ſword."

This letter is ſo long, and beſides is filled with ſo great a number of private facts, though each of theſe are important, that it will not admit of being reduced to extracts, or to have a connected abridgment made of it. I ſhall therefore cite but one paſſage, by which the reader may form a judgment of the reſt.

"At the time of our moſt open ruptures," ſays Philip to the Athenians, "you went no further than to fit out privateers againſt me; to ſeize and ſell the merchants that came "to trade in my dominions; to favour any party that oppoſed "my meaſures; and to infeſt the places ſubject to me by your "hoſtilities: but now you carry hatred and injuſtice to ſuch "prodigious lengths, as even to ſend ambaſſadors to the Perſian, in order to excite him to declare war againſt me. This "muſt appear a moſt aſtoniſhing circumſtance; for before he "had made himſelf maſter of Egypt and Phœnicia, you had "reſolved, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that in caſe he ſhould "attempt any new enterpriſe, you then would invite me, in "common with the reſt of the Greeks, to unite our forces "againſt him. And nevertheleſs, at this time you carry your "hatred to ſuch an height, as to negotiate an alliance with him "againſt me. I have been told, that formerly your fathers imputed to Piſiſtratus, as an unpardonable crime, his having requeſted the ſuccour of the Perſians againſt the Greeks, and "yet you do not bluſh to commit a thing which you were perpetually condemning in the perſon of your tyrants."

Philip's letter did him as much ſervice as a good manifeſto, and gave his penſioners in Athens a fine opportunity of juſti-

* Eodem animo dixit, quo bellavit. Quintil. l. x, c. 1.

fying him to the people, who were very desirous of easing themselves of political inquietudes, and greater enemies to expence and labour than to usurpation and tyranny. The boundless ambition of Philip, and the eloquent zeal of Demosthenes, were perpetually clashing. There was neither a peace nor a truce between them. The one covered very industriously with a specious pretence his enterprises and infractions of treaty; and the other endeavoured as strongly to reveal the true motives of them to a people, whose resolutions had a great influence with respect to the fate of Greece. On this occasion Demosthenes was sensible how vastly necessary it was to erase, as soon as possible, the first impressions which the perusal of this letter might make on the minds of the Athenians. Accordingly, that zealous patriot immediately ascends the tribunal. He at first speaks in an affirmative tone of voice, which is often more than half, and sometimes the whole proof in the eyes of the multitude. He affixes to the heavy complaints of Philip the idea of an express declaration of war; then, to animate his fellow-citizens, to fill them with confidence in the resolution with which he inspires them, he assures them, that all things portend the ruin of Philip; gods, Greeks, Persians, Macedonians, and even Philip himself. Demosthenes does not observe in this harangue the exact rules of refutation; he avoids contesting facts, which might have been disadvantageous, so happily had Philip disposed them, and so well had he supported them, by proofs that seemed unanswerable.

* The conclusion which this orator draws from all his arguments is this: "Convinced by these truths, O Athenians, and "strongly persuaded, that we can no longer be allowed to af- "firm that we enjoy peace (for Philip has now declared war "against us by his letter, and has long done the same by his "conduct), you ought not to spare either the public treasure, "or the possessions of private persons; but when occasion shall "require, haste to your respective standards, and set abler "generals at your head than those you have hitherto employed. "For no one among you ought to imagine, that the same men, "who have ruined your affairs, will have abilities to restore "them to their former happy situation. Think how infamous "it is, that a man from Macedon should contemn dangers to "such a degree, that, merely to aggrandize his empire, he "should rush into the midst of combats, and return from "battle covered with wounds; and that Athenians, whose

* Plut. in Phoc. p. 748.

"hereditary

" hereditary right it is to obey no man, but to impose laws on " others sword in hand; that Athenians, I say, merely through " dejection of spirit and indolence, should degenerate from the " glory of their ancestors, and abandon the interest of their " country!"

At the very time they were examining this affair, news was brought of the shameful reception Chares had met with from the allies, which raised a general murmur among the people, who now, fired with indignation, greatly repented their having sent aid to the Byzantines. Phocion then rose up, and told the people, " That they ought not to be exasperated at the diffi- " dence of the allies, but at the conduct of the generals who " had occasioned it. For it is these," continued he, " who ren- " der you odious, and formidable even to those who cannot save " themselves from destruction without your assistance." And indeed Chares, as we have already observed, was a general without valour or military knowledge. His whole merit consisted in having gained a great ascendant over the people by the haughty and bold air he assumed. His presumption concealed his incapacity from himself; and a sordid principle of avarice made him commit as many blunders as enterprises.

*The people, struck with this discourse, immediately changed their opinion, and appointed Phocion himself to command a body of fresh troops, in order to succour the allies in the Hellespont. This choice contributed chiefly to the preservation of Byzantium. Phocion had already acquired great reputation, not only for his valour and ability in the art of war, but much more for his probity and disinterestedness. The Byzantines, on his arrival, opened their gates to him with joy, and lodged his soldiers in their houses, as their own brothers and children. The Athenian officers and soldiers, struck with the confidence reposed in them, behaved with the utmost prudence and modesty, and were entirely irreproachable in their conduct. Nor were they less admired for their courage; and in all the attacks they sustained, discovered the utmost intrepidity, which danger seemed only to improve. †Phocion's prudence, seconded by the bravery of his troops, soon forced Philip to abandon his design upon Byzantium and Perinthus. He was beat out of the Hellespont, which diminished very much his fame and glory, for he hitherto had been thought invincible, and nothing been able to oppose him. Phocion took some of his ships, recovered many fortresses which he had gar-

* A. M. 3665. Ant. J. C. 339. † Diod. l. xvi. p. 468.

riſoned, and having made ſeveral deſcents into different parts of his territories, he plundered all the open country, till a body of forces aſſembling to check his progreſs, he was obliged to retire, after having been wounded.

* The Byzantines and Perinthians teſtified their gratitude to the people of Athens, by a very honourable decree, preſerved by Demoſthenes in one of his orations, the ſubſtance of which I ſhall repeat here. "Under Boſphoricus the pontiff, Damagetus†, after having deſired leave of the ſenate to ſpeak, "ſaid, in a full aſſembly: Inaſmuch as in times paſt the continual benevolence of the people of Athens towards the Byzantines and Perinthians, united by alliance and their common origin, has never failed upon any occaſion; that this "benevolence, ſo often ſignalized, has lately diſplayed itſelf, "when Philip of Macedon, who had taken up arms to deſtroy Byzantium and Perinthus, battered our walls, burned "our country, cut down our foreſts; that in a ſeaſon of ſo "great calamity, this beneficent people ſuccoured us with a "fleet of 120 ſail, furniſhed with proviſions, arms, and forces; "that they ſaved us from the greateſt danger; in fine, that "they reſtored us to the quiet poſſeſſion of our government, "our laws, and our tombs: the Byzantines and Perinthians "grant, by decree, the Athenians to ſettle in the countries be"longing to Perinthus and Byzantium; to marry in them, to "purchaſe lands, and to enjoy all the prerogatives of citizens; "they alſo grant them a diſtinguiſhed place at public ſhows, "and the right of ſitting both in the ſenate and the aſſembly "of the people, next to the pontiffs: and further, that every "Athenian who ſhall think proper to ſettle in either of the "two cities above-mentioned, ſhall be exempted from taxes of "any kind: that in the harbours, three ſtatues of 16 cubits "each ſhall be ſet up, which ſtatues ſhall repreſent the people "of Athens crowned by thoſe of Byzantium and Perinthus: "And beſides, that preſents ſhall be ſent to the four ſolemn "games of Greece, and that the crown we have decreed to the "Athenians, ſhall there be proclaimed; ſo that the ſame ce"remony may acquaint all the Greeks, both with the mag"nanimity of the Athenians, and the gratitude of the Perin"thians and Byzantines."

The inhabitants of Cherſoneſus made a like decree, the tenor of which is as follows: "Among the nations inhabiting

* Demoſth. pro. Cteſ. p. 487, 488.

† He probably was the chief magiſtrate.

"the

" the Cherſoneſus, the people of Seſtos, of Ælia, of Madytis, " and of Alopeconneſus, decree to the people and ſenate of " Athens, a crown of gold of 60 talents*; and erect two altars, " the one to the goddeſs of gratitude, and the other to the " Athenians, for their having, by the moſt glorious of all " benefactions, freed from the yoke of Philip the people of " Cherſoneſus, and reſtored them to the poſſeſſion of their " country, their laws, their liberty, and their temples: an " act of beneficence, which they ſhall fix eternally in their " memories, and never ceaſe to acknowledge to the utmoſt " of their power. All which they have reſolved in full ſe- " nate."

† Philip, after having been forced to raiſe the ſiege of Byzantium, marched againſt Atheas, king of Scythia, from whom he had received ſome perſonal cauſe of diſcontent, and took his ſon with him in this expedition. Though the Scythians had a very numerous army, he defeated them without any difficulty. He got a very great booty, which conſiſted not in gold or ſilver, the uſe and value of which the Scythians were not as yet ſo unhappy as to know; but in cattle, in horſes, and a great number of women and children.

At his return from Scythia, the Triballi, a people of Mœſia, diſputed the paſs with him, laying claim to part of the plunder he was carrying off. Philip was forced to come to a battle, and a very bloody one was fought, in which great numbers on each ſide were killed on the ſpot. The king himſelf was wounded in the thigh, and with the ſame thruſt had his horſe killed under him. Alexander flew to his father's aid, and, covering him with his ſhield, killed or put to flight all who attacked him.

## SECTION VI.

### PHILIP APPOINTED GENERALISSIMO OF THE GREEKS.— ATHENIANS AND THEBANS UNITE AGAINST HIM.— HE GAINS A BATTLE AT CHÆRONEA.

THE Athenians had conſidered the ſiege of Byzantium as an abſolute rupture, and an open declaration of war. ‡ The king of Macedon, who was apprehenſive of the conſequences of it, and dreaded very much the power of the Athenians, whoſe hatred he had drawn upon himſelf, made overtures of

* 6000 French crowns. † Juſtin. l. ix. c. 2, 3.
‡ A. M. 3666. Ant. J. C. 338. Plut. in Phoc. p. 748.

peace, in order to ſoften their reſentments. Phocion, little ſuſpicious, and apprehenſive of the uncertainty of military events, was of opinion that the Athenians ſhould accept his offers. But Demoſthenes, who had ſtudied more than Phocion the genius and character of Philip, and was perſuaded that, according to his uſual cuſtom, his only view was to amuſe and impoſe upon the Athenians, prevented their liſtening to his pacific propoſals.

* It was very much the intereſt of this prince to terminate immediately a war, which gave him great cauſe of diſquiet, and particularly diſtreſſed him by the frequent depredations of the Athenian privateers, who infeſted the ſea bordering upon his dominions. They entirely interrupted all commerce, and prevented his ſubjects from exporting any of the products of Macedonia into other countries; or foreigners from importing into his kingdom the merchandiſe it wanted. Philip was ſenſible that it would be impoſſible for him to put an end to this war, and free himſelf from the inconveniencies attending it, but by exciting the Theſſalians and Thebans to break with Athens. He could not yet attack that city, with any advantage, either by ſea or land. His naval forces were at this time inferior to thoſe of that republic; and the paſſage by land to Attica would be ſhut againſt him, as long as the Theſſalians ſhould refuſe to join him, and the Thebans ſhould oppoſe his paſſage. If, with the view of prompting them to declare war againſt Athens, he ſhould aſcribe no other motive for it than his private enmity, he was very ſenſible that it would have no effect with either of the ſtates: but that in caſe he could once prevail with them to appoint him their chief, upon the ſpecious pretence of eſpouſing their common cauſe, he then hoped it would be eaſier for him to make them acquieſce with his deſires, either by perſuaſion or deceit.

This was his aim, the ſmalleſt traces of which it highly concerned him to conceal, in order not to give the leaſt opportunity for any one to ſuſpect the deſign he meditated. In every city he retained penſioners, who ſent him notice of whatever paſſed, and by that means were of great uſe to him; and were accordingly well paid. By their machinations he raiſed diviſions among the Ozolæ of Locris, otherwiſe called the Locrians of Amphiſſa, from their capital city: their country was ſituated between Ætolia and Phocis; and they were accuſed of having profaned a ſpot of ſacred ground, by ploughing up

* Demoſth. pro Ctef. p. 497, 498.

the

the Cirrhean field, which lay very near the temple of Delphos. The reader has seen that a like cauſe of complaint occaſioned the firſt ſacred war. The affair was to be heard before the Amphictyons. Had Philip employed in his own favour any known or ſuſpicious agent, he plainly ſaw that the Thebans and the Theſſalians would infallibly ſuſpect his deſign, in which caſe all parties would not fail to ſtand upon their guard.

But Philip acted more artfully, by carrying on his deſigns by perſons in the dark, which entirely prevented their taking air. By the aſſiduity of his penſioners in Athens, he had cauſed Æſchines, who was entirely devoted to him, to be appointed one of the Pylagori, by which name thoſe were called, who were ſent by the ſeveral Greek cities to the aſſembly of the Amphyctions. The inſtant he came into it, he acted the more effectually in favour of Philip, as a citizen of Athens, which had declared openly againſt this prince, was leſs ſuſpected. Upon his remonſtrances, a deputation was appointed, in order to viſit the ſpot of ground, of which the Amphiſſians had hitherto been conſidered as the lawful poſſeſſors, but which they now were accuſed of uſurping, by a moſt ſacrilegious act.

Whilſt the Amphyctions were viſiting the ſpot of ground in queſtion, the Locrians fall upon them unawares, pour in a ſhower of darts, and oblige them to fly. So open an outrage drew reſentment and war upon theſe Locrians. Cottyphus, one of the Amphyctions, took the field with the army intended to puniſh the rebels; but many not coming to the rendezvous, the army retired without acting. In the following aſſembly of the Amphyctions, the affair was debated very ſeriouſly. It was there Æſchines exerted all his eloquence, and, by a ſtudied oration, proved to the deputies, or repreſentatives, either that they muſt aſſeſs themſelves to ſupport foreign ſoldiers and puniſh the rebels, or elſe elect Philip for their general. The deputies, to ſave their commonwealth the expence, and ſecure them from the dangers and fatigues of a war, reſolved the latter. Upon which, by a public decree, "ambaſſadors were ſent to Philip of Macedon, who, in the name "of Apollo and the Amphyctions, implore his aſſiſtance; be"ſeech him not to neglect the cauſe of that god, which the "impious Amphiſſians make their ſport; and notify to him, "that for this purpoſe all the Greeks, of the council of the "Amphyctions, elect him for their general, with full power "to act as he ſhall think proper."

This was the honour to which Philip had long aſpired, the aim

aim of all his views, and end of all the engines he had ſet at work till that time. He therefore did not loſe a moment, but immediately aſſembles his forces, and marches, by a feint, towards the Cirrhæan field, forgetting now both the Cirrhæans and Locrians, who had only ſerved as a ſpecious pretext for his journey, and for whom he had not the leaſt regard; he poſſeſſed himſelf of Elatæa, the greateſt city in Phocis, ſtanding on the river Cephiſſus, and the moſt happily ſituated for the deſign he meditated, of awing the Thebans, who now began to open their eyes, and to perceive the danger they were in.

* This news being brought to Athens in the evening, ſpread a terror through every part of it. The next morning an aſſembly was ſummoned, when the herald, as was the uſual cuſtom, cries with a loud voice, "Who among you will aſcend "the tribunal?" † However, no perſon appears for that purpoſe; upon which he repeated the invitation ſeveral times, but ſtill no one roſe up, though all the generals and orators were preſent; and although the common voice of the country, with repeated cries, conjured ſomebody to propoſe a ſalutary counſel: for, ſays Demoſthenes, from whom theſe particulars are taken, whenever the voice of the herald ſpeaks in the name of the laws, it ought to be conſidered as the voice of the country. During this general ſilence, occaſioned by the univerſal alarm with which the minds of the Athenians were ſeized, Demoſthenes, animated at the ſight of the great danger his fellow-citizens were in, aſcends the tribunal for harangues, and endeavours to revive the drooping Athenians, and inſpire them with ſentiments ſuitable to the preſent conjuncture, and the neceſſities of the ſtate. Excelling equally in politics and eloquence, by the extent of his ſuperior genius, he immediately forms a council, which includes all that was neceſſary for the Athenians to act both at home and abroad, by land as well as by ſea.

The people of Athens were under a double error with regard to the Thebans, which he therefore endeavours to ſhow. They imagined that people were inviolably attached, both from intereſt and inclination, to Philip; but he proves to them, that the majority of the Thebans waited only an opportunity to declare againſt that monarch; and that the conqueſt of Elatæa has appriſed them of what they are to expect from him. On the other ſide, they looked upon the Thebans as their moſt ancient and moſt dangerous enemies, and therefore could

* Demoſth. pro. Cteſ. p. 501—504. † Diod. l. xvi. p. 474—477.

not

not prevail with themſelves to afford them the leaſt aid in the extreme danger with which they were threatened. It muſt be conſeſſed, that there had always been a declared enmity between the Thebans and Athenians, which roſe ſo high, that Pindar was ſentenced by the Thebans to pay a conſiderable fine, for having * applauded the city of Athens in one of his poems. Demoſthenes, notwithſtanding that prejudice had taken ſuch deep root in the minds of the people, yet declares in their favour; and proves to the Athenians, that their own intereſt lies at ſtake; and that they could not pleaſe Philip more, than in leaving Thebes to his mercy, the ruin of which would open him a free paſſage to Athens.

Demoſthenes afterwards diſcovers to them the views of Philip in taking that city. "What then is his deſign, and wherefore "did he poſſeſs himſelf of Elatæa? He is deſirous, on one "ſide, to encourage thoſe of his faction in Thebes, and to in-"ſpire them with greater boldneſs, by appearing at the head "of his army, and advancing his power and forces around "that city. On the other ſide, he would ſtrike unexpectedly "the oppoſite faction, and ſtun them in ſuch a manner, as may "enable him to get the better of it either by terror or force. "Philip," ſays he, "preſcribes the manner in which you "ought to act, by the example he himſelf ſets you. Aſſem-"ble, under Eleuſis, a body of Athenians, of an age fit for "ſervice; and ſupport theſe by your cavalry. By this ſtep "you will ſhow all Greece, that you are ready armed to de-"fend yourſelves; and inſpire your partiſans in Thebes with "ſuch reſolution, as may enable them both to ſupport their "reaſons, and to make head againſt the oppoſite party, when "they ſhall perceive, that as thoſe who ſell their country to "Philip have forces in Elatæa ready to aſſiſt them upon oc-"caſion; in like manner thoſe, who were willing to fight for "the preſervation of their own liberties, have you at their "gates ready to defend them in caſe of an invaſion." Demoſthenes added, that it would be proper for them to ſend ambaſſadors immediately to the different ſtates of Greece, and to the Thebans in particular, to engage them in a common league againſt Philip.

This prudent and ſalutary counſel was followed in every

* He had called Athens a flouriſhing and renowned city, the bulwark of Greece. Λίπαραι καὶ Ἀοίδιμοι, Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα, κλειναὶ Ἀθῆναι. But the Athenians not only indemnified the poet, and ſent him money to pay his fine, but even erected a ſtatute in honour of him.

particular;

particular; and in conſequence thereof a decree was formed, in which, after enumerating the ſeveral enterpriſes by which Philip had infringed the peace, it continues thus: "For this "reaſon the ſenate and people of Athens, calling to mind the "magnanimity of their anceſtors, who preferred the liberty of "Greece to the ſafety of their own country, have reſolved, "that after offering up prayers and ſacrifices, to call down the "aſſiſtance of the tutelar gods and demi-gods of Athens and "Attica, 200 ſail of ſhips ſhall be put to ſea. That the admi- "ral of their fleet ſhall go, as ſoon as poſſible, and cruiſe on "the other ſide of the paſs of Thermopylæ; at the ſame time "that the land-generals, at the head of a conſiderable body of "horſe and foot, ſhall march and encamp in the neighbour- "hood of Eleuſis. That ambaſſadors ſhall likewiſe be ſent "to the other Greeks; but firſt to the Thebans, as theſe are "moſt threatened by Philip. Let them be exhorted not to "dread Philip in any manner, but to maintain courageouſly "their particular independence, and the common liberty of all "Greece. And let it be declared to them, that though for- "merly ſome motives of diſcontent might have cooled the reci- "procal friendſhip between them and us, the Athenians how- "ever, obliterating the remembrance of paſt tranſactions, will "now aſſiſt them with men, money, darts, and all kind of mili- "tary weapons; perſuaded, that ſuch as are natives of Greece "may, very honourably, diſpute with one another for pre-emi- "nence; but that they can never, without ſullying the glory "of the Greeks, and derogating from the virtue of their anceſ- "tors, ſuffer a foreigner to deſpoil them of that pre-eminence, "nor conſent to ſo ignominious a ſlavery."

* Demoſthenes, who was at the head of this embaſſy, immediately ſet out for Thebes; and indeed, he had no time to loſe, ſince Philip might reach Attica in two days. This prince alſo ſent ambaſſadors to Thebes. Among theſe † Python was the chief, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly by his lively perſuaſive eloquence, which it was ſcarce poſſible to withſtand; ſo that the reſt of the deputies were mere novices in compariſon to him: however, he here met with a ſuperior. ‡ And indeed, Demoſthenes, in an oration, where he relates the ſervices he had done the commonwealth, expatiates very ſtrongly on this,

* Plut. in Demoſth. p. 853, 854.

† This Python was of Byzantium. The Athenians had preſented him with the freedom of their city; after which he went over to Philip. Demoſth. p. 193. 745.

‡ Demoſth. in orat. pro Coron. p. 509.

and

and places the happy ſucceſs of ſo important a negotiation at the head of his political exploits.

* It was of the utmoſt importance for the Athenians to draw the Thebans into the alliance, as they were neighbours to Attica, and covered it; had troops excellently well diſciplined, and had been conſidered, from the famous victories of Leuctra and Mantinea, among the ſeveral ſtates of Greece, as thoſe who held the firſt rank for valour and ability in war. To effect this was no very eaſy matter; not only becauſe of the great ſervice Philip had lately done them during the war of Phocis, but likewiſe becauſe of the ancient inveterate antipathy of Thebes and Athens.

Philip's deputies ſpoke firſt. Theſe diſplayed in the ſtrongeſt light, the kindneſſes with which Philip had loaded the Thebans, and the innumerable evils which the Athenians had made them ſuffer. They repreſented to the utmoſt advantage, the great benefit they might reap from laying Attica waſte, the flocks, goods, and power of which would be carried into their city; whereas, by joining in league with the Athenians, Bœotia would thereby become the ſeat of war, and would alone ſuffer the loſſes, depredations, burnings, and all the other calamities which are the inevitable conſequences of it. They concluded with requeſting, either the Thebans would join their forces with thoſe of Philip againſt the Athenians; or, at leaſt, permit him to paſs through their territories to enter Attica.

The love of his country, and a juſt indignation at the breach of faith and uſurpations of Philip, had already ſufficiently animated Demoſthenes: but the ſight of an orator, who ſeemed to diſpute with him the ſuperiority of eloquence, inflamed his zeal, and heightened his vivacity ſtill more. To the captious arguments of Python he oppoſed the actions themſelves of Philip, and particularly the late taking of Elatæa, which evidently diſcovered his deſigns. He repreſented him as a reſtleſs, enterpriſing, ambitious, crafty, perfidious prince, who had formed the deſign of enſlaving all Greece; but who, to ſucceed the better in his ſchemes, was determined to attack the different ſtates of it ſingly: a prince, whoſe pretended beneficence was only a ſnare for the credulity of thoſe who did not know him, in order to diſarm thoſe whoſe zeal for the public liberty might be an obſtacle to his enterpriſes. He proved to them, that the conqueſt of Attica, ſo far from ſatiating the immeaſurable avidity of this uſurper, would only give him an oppor-

* Demoſth. in orat. pro Coron. p. 509.

tunity

tunity of ſubjecting Thebes, and the reſt of the cities of Greece. That therefore the intereſts of the two commonwealths being henceforward inſeparable, they ought to eraſe entirely the remembrance of their former diviſions, and unite their forces to repel the common enemy.

* The Thebans were not long in determining. The ſtrong eloquence of Demoſthenes, ſays an hiſtorian, blowing into their ſouls like an impetuous wind, rekindled there ſo warm a zeal for their country, and ſo mighty a paſſion for liberty, that baniſhing from their minds every idea of fear, of prudence, or gratitude, his diſcourſe tranſported and raviſhed them like a fit of enthuſiaſm, and inflamed them ſolely with the love of true glory. Here we have a proof of the mighty aſcendant which eloquence has over the minds of men, eſpecially when it is heightened by a love and zeal for the public good. One ſingle man ſwayed all things at his will in the aſſemblies of Athens and Thebes, where he was equally loved, reſpected, and feared.

Philip, quite diſconcerted by the union of theſe two nations, ſent ambaſſadors to the Athenians, to requeſt them not to levy an armed force, but to live in harmony with him. However, they were too juſtly alarmed and exaſperated to liſten to any accommodation, and would no longer depend on the word of a prince whoſe whole aim was to deceive. In conſequence, preparations for war were made with the utmoſt diligence, and the ſoldiery diſcovered incredible ardour. However, many evil-diſpoſed perſons endeavoured to extinguiſh or damp it, by relating fatal omens and terrible predictions, which the prieſteſs of Delphos was ſaid to have uttered: but Demoſthenes, confiding firmly in the arms of Greece, and encouraged wonderfully by the number and bravery of the troops, who deſired only to march againſt the enemy, would not ſuffer them to be amuſed with theſe oracles and frivolous predictions. It was on this occaſion he ſaid, that the prieſteſs Phillippized, meaning, that it was Philip's money that inſpired the prieſteſs, opened her mouth, and made the god ſpeak whatever ſhe thought proper. He bade the Thebans remember their Epaminondas, and the Athenians their Pericles, who conſidered theſe oracles and predictions as idle ſcare-crows, and conſulted only their reaſon. The Athenian army ſet out immediately, and marched to Eleuſis; and the Thebans, ſurpriſed at the diligence of

* Theopon. apud Plut. in vit. Demoſth. p. 854.

their

their confederates, joined them, and waited the approach of the enemy.

Philip, on the other side, not having been able to prevent the Thebans from uniting with Athens, nor to draw the latter into an alliance with him, assembles all his forces, and enters Bœotia. His army consisted of 30,000 foot and 2000 horse: that of his enemy was not quite so numerous. The valour of the troops might have been said to have been equal on both sides; but the merit of the chiefs was not so. And indeed, what warrior was comparable to Philip at that time? Iphicrates, Chabrias, Timotheus, all famous Athenian captains, were not his superiors. Phocion, indeed, might have opposed him; but not to mention that this war had been undertaken against his advice, the contrary faction had excluded him the command, and had appointed generals Chares, universally despised, and Lysicles, distinguished for nothing but his rash and daring audacity. It is the choice of such leaders as these, by the means of cabal alone, that paves the way to the ruin of states.

The two armies encamped near Chæronea, a city of Bœotia. Philip gave the command of his left wing to his son Alexander, who was then but 16 or 17 years old, having posted his ablest officers near him; and took the command of the right wing upon himself. In the opposite army, the Thebans formed the right wing, and the Athenians the left.

At sun-rise, the signal was given on both sides. The battle was bloody, and the victory a long time dubious, both sides exerting themselves with astonishing valour and bravery. Alexander at that time, animated with a noble ardour for glory, and endeavouring to signalize himself, in order to answer the confidence his father had reposed in him, under whose eye he fought, in quality of a commander, for the first time, discovered in this battle all the capacity which could have been expected from a veteran general, with all the intrepidity of a young warrior. It was he who broke, after a long and vigorous resistance, the Sacred Battalion of the Thebans, which was the flower of their army. The rest of the troops who were round Alexander, being encouraged by his example, entirely routed them.

On the right wing, Philip, who was determined not to yield to his son, charged the Athenians with great vigour, and began to make them give way. However, they soon resumed their courage, and recovered their first post. * Lysicles, one of the two generals, having broke into some troops which formed the

* Polyæn. Stratag. lib. iv.

centre of the Macedonians, imagined himſelf already victorious, and in that raſh confidence cried out, "Come on, my "lads, let us purſue them into Macedonia." Philip, perceiving that the Athenians, inſtead of ſeizing the advantage of taking his phalanx in flank, purſued his troops too vigorouſly, cried out with a calm tone of voice, "The Athenians do not "know how to conquer." Immediately he commanded his phalanx to wheel about to a little eminence; and perceiving that the Athenians, in diſorder, were wholly intent on purſuing thoſe they had broke, he charged them with his phalanx, and attacking them both in flank and rear, entirely routed them. Demoſthenes, who was a greater ſtateſman than a warrior, and more capable of giving wholeſome counſel in his harangues than of ſupporting them by an intrepid courage, threw down his arms, and fled with the reſt. *It is even ſaid, that in his flight his robe being catched by a bramble, he imagined that ſome of the enemy had laid hold of him, and cried out, "Spare my life." More than 1000 Athenians were left upon the field of battle, and above 2000 taken priſoners, among whom was Demades the orator. The loſs was as great on the Theban ſide.

Philip, after having ſet up a trophy, and offered to the gods a ſacrifice of thankſgiving for his victory, diſtributed rewards to the officers and ſoldiers, each according to his merit and the rank he held.

His conduct after this victory ſhows, that it is much eaſier to overcome an enemy, than to conquer one's ſelf, and triumph over one's own paſſions. Upon his coming from a grand entertainment, which he had given his officers, being equally tranſported with joy and the fumes of wine, he hurried to the ſpot where the battle had been fought, and there, inſulting the dead bodies with which the field was covered, he turned into a ſong the beginning of the decree which Demoſthenes had prepared to excite the Greeks to this war; and ſung thus, himſelf beating time, "Demoſthenes the Peanian, ſon of Demoſthenes, has ſaid." Every body was ſhocked to ſee the king diſhonour himſelf by this behaviour, and ſully his glory by an action ſo unworthy a king and a conqueror; but no one opened his lips about it. Demades the orator, whoſe ſoul was free, though his body was a priſoner, was the only perſon who ventured to make him ſenſible of the indecency of his conduct, telling him, "Ah, Sir, ſince fortune has given you the part

* Plut. in vit. decem. orat. p. 845.

"of

" of Agamemnon, are you not ashamed to act that of Ther-
" sites ?" These words, spoke with so generous a liberty, opened his eyes, and made him turn them inward: and, so far from being displeased with Demades, he esteemed him the more for them, treated him with the utmost respect and friendship, and conferred all possible honours upon him.

From this moment Philip seemed quite changed, both in his disposition and behaviour, as if, says *an historian, the conversation of Demades had softened his temper, and introduced him to a familiar acquaintance with the Attic graces. He dismissed all the Athenian captives without any ransom, and gave the greatest part of them clothes; with the view of acquiring the confidence of so powerful a commonwealth as Athens by that kind treatment: in which, says Polybius†, he gained a second triumph, more glorious for himself, and even more advantageous than the first; for in the battle, his courage had prevailed over none but those who were present in it; but on this occasion, his kindness and clemency acquired him a whole city, and subjected every heart to him. He renewed with the Athenians the ancient treaty of friendship and alliance, and granted the Bœotians a peace, after having left a strong garrison in Thebes.

‡ We are told that Isocrates, the most celebrated rhetorician of that age, who loved his country with the utmost tenderness, could not survive the loss and ignominy with which it was covered, by the loss of the battle of Chæronea. The instant he received the news of it, being uncertain what use Philip would make of his victory, and determined to die a freeman, he hastened his end by abstaining from food. He was 98 years of age. I shall have occasion to speak elsewhere of his style and of his works.

Demosthenes seemed to have been the principal cause of the terrible shock which Athens received at this time, and which gave its power such a wound, as it never recovered. § But at the very instant that the Athenians heard of this bloody overthrow, which affected so great a number of families, when it would have been no wonder, had the multitude, seized with terror and alarm, given way to an emotion of blind zeal against the man whom they might have considered in some measure as the author of this dreadful calamity; even at this very instant,

* Ὑπὸ τῷ Δημάδῃ καθομιληθέντας ταῖς Ἀθήναις χάρισι. Diod.
† Polyb. l. v. p. 359. ‡ Plut. in Isocr. p. 887.
§ Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 514. Plut. in Demosth. p. 855.

I say, the people submitted entirely to the counsels of Demosthenes. The precautions that were taken to post guards, to raise the walls, and to repair the fosses, were all in consequence of his advice. He himself was appointed to supply the city with provisions, and to repair the walls; which latter commission he executed with so much generosity, that it acquired him the greatest honour; and for which, at the request of Ctesiphon, a crown of gold was decreed him, as a reward for his having presented the commonwealth with a sum of money out of his own estate, sufficient to defray what was wanting of the sums for repairing the walls.

On the present occasion, that is, after the battle of Chæronea, such orators as opposed Demosthenes, having all risen up in concert against him, and having cited him to take his trial according to law, the people not only declared him innocent of the several accusations laid to his charge, but conferred more honours upon him than he had enjoyed before; so strongly did the veneration they had for his zeal and fidelity overbalance the efforts of calumny and malice.

The Athenians, a fickle wavering people, and apt to punish their own errors and omissions in the person of those whose projects were often rendered abortive, for no other reason but because they had executed them too slowly, in thus crowning Demosthenes, in the midst of a public calamity which he alone seemed to have brought upon them, pay the most glorious homage to his abilities and integrity. By this wise and brave conduct, they seem in some measure to confess their own error, in not having followed his counsel neither fully nor early enough; and to confess themselves alone guilty of all the evils which had befallen them.

* But the people did not stop here. The bones of such as had been killed in the battle of Chæronea, having been brought to Athens to be interred, they appointed Demosthenes to compose the eulogium of those brave men; a manifest proof that they did not ascribe to him the ill success of the battle, but to Providence only, who disposes of human events at pleasure; a circumstance which was expressly mentioned in the inscription engraved on the monument of those illustrious deceased warriors.

> This earth entombs those victims to the state
> Who fell a glorious sacrifice to zeal.
> Greece, on the point of wearing tyrant-chains,

* Plut. in Demosth. p. 855. Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 519, 520.

This

Did, by their deaths alone, escape the yoke.
This Jupiter decreed: no effort, mortals,
Can save you from the mighty will of fate.
To gods alone belongs the attribute
Of being free from crimes with never-ending joy.

* Demosthenes opposed Æschines, who was perpetually reproaching him with having occasioned the loss of the battle in question, with this solid answer: "Censure me," says he, "for "the counsels I give; but do not calumniate me for the ill "success of them; for it is the supreme Being who conducts "and terminates all things; whereas it is from the nature of "the counsel itself that we are to judge of the intention of him "who offers it. If therefore the event has declared in favour "of Philip, impute it not to me as a crime, since it is God, "and not myself, who disposed of the victory. But if you "can prove that I did not exert myself with probity, vigilance, "and an activity indefatigable, and superior to my strength: "if with these I did not seek, I did not employ every me-"thod which human prudence could suggest: and did not in-"spire the most necessary and noble resolutions, such as were "truly worthy of Athenians; show me this, and then give "what scope you please to your accusations."

† He afterwards uses the bold, sublime figure following, which is looked upon as the most beautiful passage in his oration, and is so highly applauded by Longinus ‡. Demosthenes endeavours to justify his own conduct, and prove to the Athenians, that they did not do wrong in giving Philip battle. He is not satisfied with merely citing in a frigid manner the example of the great men who had fought for the same cause in the plains of Marathon, at Salamin, and before Platæa: no, he makes a quite different use of them, says this rhetorician; and on a sudden, as if inspired by some god, and possessed with the spirit of Apollo himself, cries out, swearing by those brave defenders of Greece: "No, Athenians! you have "not erred. I swear by those illustrious men who fought on "land at Marathon and Platæa; at sea before Salamin and "Artemisium; and all those who have been honoured by the "commonwealth with the solemn rites of burial; and not those "only who have been crowned with success, and came off "victorious." Would not one conclude, adds Longinus, that by changing the natural air of the proof, in this grand and pa-

* Demosth. pro. Ctes. p. 505. † Ibid. p. 508.
‡ Longin. de sublim. c. xiv.

thetic manner of affirming by oaths of ſo extraordinary a nature, he deifies, in ſome meaſure, thoſe ancient citizens; and makes all who die in the ſame glorious manner ſo many gods, by whoſe names it is proper to ſwear?

I have already obſerved in another place, how naturally apt theſe * orations, ſpoken in a moſt ſolemn manner, to the glory of thoſe who loſt their lives in fighting for the cauſe of liberty, were to inſpire the Athenian youth with an ardent zeal for their country, and a warm deſire to ſignalize themſelves in battle.

†Another ceremony obſerved with regard to the children of thoſe whoſe fathers died in the bed of honour, was no leſs efficacious to inſpire them with the love of virtue. In a celebrated feſtival, in which ſhows were exhibited to the whole people, an herald came upon the ſtage, and producing the young orphans dreſſed in complete armour, he ſaid with a loud voice: "Theſe young orphans, whom an untimely death in the "midſt of dangers has deprived of their illuſtrious fathers, have "found in the people a parent, who has taken care of them till "no longer in a ſtate of infancy. And now they ſend them "back, armed cap-a-pee, to follow, under the moſt happy "auſpices, their own affairs; and invite each of them to emu"late each other in deſerving the chief employments of the "ſtate." By ſuch methods, martial bravery, the love of one's country, and a taſte for virtue and ſolid glory, are perpetuated in a ſtate.

It was the very year of the battle of Chæronea, and two years before the death of Philip, that Æſchines drew up an accuſation againſt Cteſiphon, or rather againſt Demoſthenes: but the cauſe was not pleaded till ſeven or eight years after, about the fifth or ſixth year of the reign of Alexander. I ſhall relate the event of it in this place, to avoid breaking in upon the hiſtory of the life and actions of that prince.

No cauſe ever excited ſo much curioſity, nor was pleaded with ſo much pomp. ‡ People flocked to it from all parts,

* Demoſthenes, in his oration againſt Leptines, p. 562. obſerves, that the Athenians were the only people who cauſed funeral orations to be ſpoken in honour of ſuch perſons as had loſt their lives in the defence of their country.

† Æſchin. contra Cteſiph. p. 452.

‡ Ad quod judicium concurſus dicitur e tota Græcia factus eſſe. Quid enim aut tam viſendum, aut tam audiendum fuit, quam ſummorum oratorum, in graviſſima cauſa, accurata et inimicitiis incenſa, contentio? Cicer. de opt. gen. orat. n. 22.

ſays

fays Cicero, and they had great reaſon for ſo doing; for what ſight could be nobler, than a conflict between two orators, each of them excellent in his way; both formed by nature, improved by art, and animated by perpetual diſſentions, and an implacable animoſity againſt each other?

Theſe two orations have always been conſidered as the maſter-pieces of antiquity, eſpecially that of Demoſthenes. *Cicero had tranſlated the latter, a ſtrong proof of the high opinion he entertained of it. Unhappily for us, the preamble only to that performance is now extant, which ſuffices to make us very much regret the loſs of the reſt.

Amidſt the numberleſs beauties which are conſpicuous in every part of theſe two orations, methinks there appears (if I may be allowed to cenſure the writings of ſuch great men) a conſiderable error, that very much leſſens their perfection, and which appears to me directly repugnant to the rules of ſolid, juſt eloquence; and that is, the groſs injurious terms in which the two orators reproach one another. The ſame objection has been made to Cicero, with regard to his orations againſt Antony. I have already declared, that this manner of writing, this kind of groſs, opprobrious expreſſions, were the very reverſe of ſolid eloquence; and indeed every ſpeech, which is dictated by paſſion and revenge, never fails of being ſuſpected by thoſe who judge of it; whereas an oration that is ſtrong and invincible from reaſon and argument, and which at the ſame time is conducted with reſerve and moderation, wins the heart, whilſt it informs the underſtanding; and perſuades no leſs by the eſteem it inſpires for the orator, than by the force of his arguments.

The juncture ſeemed to favour Æſchines very much; for the Macedonian party, whom he had always befriended, was very powerful in Athens, eſpecially after the ruin of Thebes. Nevertheleſs, Æſchines loſt his cauſe, and was juſtly ſentenced to baniſhment for his raſh accuſation. He thereupon went and ſettled himſelf in Rhodes, where he opened a ſchool of eloquence, the fame and glory of which continued for many ages. He began his lectures with the two orations that had occaſioned his baniſhment. Great encomiums were given to that of Æſchines; but when they heard that of Demoſthenes, the plaudits and acclamations were redoubled: and it was then he ſpoke theſe words, ſo greatly laudable in the mouth of an enemy and a rival: "But what applauſes would you not have beſtowed, had you heard Demoſthenes ſpeak it himſelf?"

* De opt. gen. orat.

To

To conclude, the victor made a good use of his conquest: for the instant Æschines left Athens, in order to embark for Rhodes, Demosthenes ran after him, and forced him to accept of a purse of money; which must have obliged him so much the more, as he had less room to expect such an offer. On this occasion, Æschines cried out: * How will it be possible "for me not to regret a country, in which I leave an enemy "more generous than I can hope to find friends in any other "part of the world!"

## SECTION VII.

### PHILIP DECLARED GENERALISSIMO OF THE GREEKS AGAINST THE PERSIANS.—HIS DEATH.

The battle of Chæronea † may be said to have enslaved Greece. Macedon at that time, with no more than 30,000 soldiers, gained a point, which Persia, with millions of men, had attempted unsuccessfully at Platæa, at Salamin, and at Marathon. Philip, in the first years of his reign, had repulsed, divided, and disarmed his enemies. In the succeeding ones, he had subjected, by artifice or force, the most powerful states of Greece, and had made himself its arbiter; but now he prepares to revenge the injuries which the Greeks had received from the barbarians, and meditates no less a design than the destruction of their empire. ‡ The greatest advantage he gained by his last victory (and this was the object he long had in view, and never lost sight of) was to get himself appointed, in the assembly of the Greeks, their generalissimo against the Persians. In this quality he made preparations, in order to invade that mighty empire. He nominated, as leaders of part of his forces, Attalus and Parmenio, two of his captains, on whose valour and wisdom he chiefly relied, and made them set out for Asia Minor.

§ But whilst every thing abroad was glorious and happy for Philip, he found the utmost uneasiness at home; division and trouble reigning in every part of his family. The ill temper of Olympias, who was naturally jealous, choleric, and vindictive, raised dissentions perpetually in it, which made Philip almost out of love with life. Not to mention, that as he him-

* Some authors ascribe these words to Demosthenes, when, three years after, he met with the same fate as Æschines, and was also banished from Athens.

† A. M. 3667. Ant. J. C. 337. ‡ Diod. l. xvi. p. 479.

§ Plut. in Alex. p. 669.

self

ſelf had defiled his marriage-bed, it is ſaid, that his conſort had repaid his infidelity in kind. But whether he had a juſt ſubject of complaint, or was grown weary of Olympias, it is certain he proceeded ſo far as to divorce her. Alexander, who had been diſguſted upon ſeveral other accounts, was highly offended at this treatment of his mother.

Philip, after divorcing Olympias, married Cleopatra, niece to Attalus, a very young lady, whoſe beauty was ſo exquiſite, that he could not reſiſt its charms. In the midſt of their rejoicings upon occaſion of the nuptials, and in the heat of wine, Attalus, who was uncle to the new queen by the mother's ſide, took it into his head to ſay, that the Macedonians ought to beſeech the gods to give them a lawful ſucceſſor to their king. Upon this Alexander, who was naturally choleric, exaſperated at theſe injurious words, cried out, "Wretch that thou art, "doſt thou then take me for a baſtard?" And at the ſame flung the cup at his head. Attalus returned the compliment, upon which the quarrel grew warmer. Philip, who ſat at another table, was very much offended to ſee the feaſt interrupted in this manner; and not recollecting that he was lame, drew his ſword, and ran directly at his ſon. Happily the father fell, ſo that the gueſts had an opportunity of ſtepping in between them. The greateſt difficulty was, to keep Alexander from ruſhing upon his ruin. Exaſperated at a ſucceſſion of ſuch heinous affronts, in ſpite of all the gueſts could ſay concerning the duty he owed to Philip as his father and his ſovereign, he vented his reſentments in the bitter words following: "The Macedonians, indeed, have a captain there, vaſtly "able to croſs from Europe into Aſia; he, who cannot ſtep "from one table to another without running the hazard of "breaking his neck!" After theſe words, he left the hall, and taking Olympias, his mother, along with him, who had been ſo highly affronted, he conducted her to Epirus, and himſelf went over to the Illyrians.

In the mean time, Demaratus of Corinth, who was engaged to Philip by the ties of friendſhip and hoſpitality, and was very free and familiar with him, arrived at his court. After the firſt civilities and careſſes were over, Philip aſked him whether the Greeks were in amity? "It indeed becomes you, Sir," replied Demaratus, "to be concerned about Greece, who have "filled your own houſe with feuds and diſſentions." The prince, ſenſibly affected with this reproach, came to himſelf, acknowledged his error, and ſent Demaratus to Alexander, to perſuade him to return home.

Philip

* Philip did not lose sight of the conquest of Asia. Full of the mighty project he revolved, he consults the gods to know what would be the event of it. The priestess replied, "The "victim is already crowned, his end draws nigh, and he will "soon be sacrificed." Philip, hearing this, did not hesitate a moment, but interpreted the oracle in his own favour, the ambiguity of which ought at least to have kept him in some suspence. In order, therefore, that he might be in a condition to apply entirely to his expedition against the Persians, and devote himself solely to the conquest of Asia, he dispatches with all possible diligence his domestic affairs. After this, he offers up a solemn sacrifice to the gods; and prepares to celebrate, with incredible magnificence, in Egæ, a city of Macedonia, the nuptials of Cleopatra his daughter, whom he gave in marriage to Alexander, king of Epirus, and brother to Olympias his queen. He had invited to it the most considerable persons of Greece, and heaped upon them friendships and honours of every kind, by way of gratitude for electing him generalissimo of the Greeks. The cities made their court to him in emulation of each other, by sending him gold crowns; and Athens distinguished its zeal above all the rest. Neoptolemus the poet had written, purposely, for that festival, a tragedy †, entitled Cinyras, in which, under borrowed names, he represented this prince as already victor over Darius, and master of Asia. Philip listened to these happy presages with joy; and, comparing them with the answer of the oracle, assured himself of conquest. The day after the nuptials, games and shows were solemnized. As these formed part of the religious worship, there were carried in it, with great pomp and ceremony, 12 statues of the gods, carved with inimitable art. A 13th that surpassed them all in magnificence, was that of Philip, which represented him as a god. The hour for his leaving the palace arrived, and he went forth in a white robe; and advanced with an air of majesty, in the midst of acclamations, towards the theatre, where an infinite multitude of Macedoniaes, as well as foreigners, waited his coming with impatience. His guards marched before and behind him, leaving by his order, a considerable space between themselves and him, to give the spectators a better opportunity of surveying him; and

* A. M 3666. Ant. J. C. 338.

† Suetonius, among the presages of Caligula's death, who died in much the same manner as Philip, observes, that Mnester, the Pantomime, exhibited the same piece which Neoptolemus had represented the very day Philip was murdered.

also

alſo to ſhow that he conſidered the affections which the Grecians bore him as his ſafeſt guard.

But all the feſtivity and pomp of theſe nuptials ended in the murder of Philip; and it was his refuſal to do an act of juſtice that occaſioned his death. Some time before, Attalus, inflamed with wine at an entertainment, had inſulted, in the moſt ſhocking manner, Pauſanias, a young Macedonian nobleman. The latter had long endeavoured to revenge the cruel affront, and was perpetually imploring the king's juſtice. But Philip, unwilling to diſguſt Attalus, uncle to Cleopatra, whom, as was before obſerved, he had married after his divorcing Olympias, his firſt queen, would never liſten to Pauſanias's complaints. However, to conſole him in ſome meaſure, and to expreſs the high eſteem he had for, and the great confidence he repoſed in him, he made him one of the chief officers of his life-guard. But this was not what the young Macedonian required, whoſe anger now ſwelling to fury againſt his judge, he forms the deſign of wiping out his ſhame, by imbruing his hands in a moſt horrid murder.

When once a man is determined to die, he is vaſtly ſtrong and formidable. Pauſanias, the better to put his bloody deſign in execution, choſe the inſtant of that pompous ceremony, when the eyes of the whole multitude were fixed on the prince; doubtleſs to make his vengeance more conſpicuous, and proportion it to the injury for which he conceived he had a right to make the king reſponſible, as he had long ſolicited that prince in vain for the ſatisfaction due to him. Seeing him therefore alone, in the great ſpace which his guards left round him, he advances forward, ſtabs him with a dagger, and lays him dead at his feet. Diodorus obſerves, that he was aſſaſſinated the very inſtant his ſtatue entered the theatre. The aſſaſſin had prepared horſes ready for his eſcape, and would have got off, had not an accident happened which ſtopped him, and gave the purſuers time to overtake him. Pauſanias was immediately torn to pieces upon the ſpot. Thus died Philip, at 47 years of age,* after having reigned 24*. Artaxerxes Ochus, king of Perſia, died alſo the ſame year.

Demoſthenes had private notice ſent him of Philip's death, and in order to prepare the Athenians to reſume their courage, he went to the council with an air of joy, and ſaid, That the night before he had a dream, which promiſed ſome great felicity to the Athenians. A little after, couriers arrived with

* A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 336. Æſchin. contra Cteſiph. p. 440.

the

the news of Philip's death, on which occaſion the people abandoned themſelves to the tranſports of immoderate joy, which far exceeded all bounds of decency. Demoſthenes had particularly inſpired them with theſe ſentiments; for he himſelf appeared in public, crowned with a wreath of flowers, and dreſſed with the utmoſt magnificence, though his daughter had been dead but ſeven days. He alſo engaged the Athenians to offer ſacrifices, to thank the gods for the good news; and, by a decree, ordained a crown to Pauſanias, who had committed the murder.

On this occaſion Demoſthenes and the Athenians acted quite out of character; and we can ſcarce conceive, how it came to paſs that, in ſo deteſtable a crime as the murder of a king, policy, at leaſt, did not induce them to diſſemble ſuch ſentiments as reflected diſhonour on them, without being at all to their advantage; and which ſhowed, that honour and probity were utterly extinct in their minds.

## SECTION VIII.

### MEMORABLE ACTIONS AND SAYINGS OF PHILIP.—GOOD AND BAD QUALITIES OF THAT PRINCE.

THERE are, in the lives of great men, certain facts and expreſſions, which often give us a better idea of their character than their moſt ſhining actions; becauſe in the latter they generally ſtudy their conduct, act a borrowed part, and propoſe themſelves to the view of the world; whereas in the former, as they ſpeak and act from nature, they exhibit themſelves ſuch as they really are, without art and diſguiſe. M. de Tourreil has collected with ſufficient induſtry moſt of the memorable actions and ſayings of Philip, and he has been particularly careful to draw the character of this prince. The reader is not to expect much order and connexion, in the recital of theſe detached actions and ſayings.

Though Philip loved flattery, ſo far as to reward the adulation of Thraſideus with the title of king in Theſſaly, he however at ſome intervals loved truth. He permitted * Ariſtotle to give him precepts on the art of reigning. He declared, that he was obliged to the Athenian orators for having corrected him of his errors, by frequently reproaching him with them. He kept a man in his ſervice to tell him every day, before he gave audience, "Philip, remember thou art mortal."

* Ariſt. Epiſt. Plut. in Apoph. p. 177. Ælian. lib. viii. c. 26.

He

* He † discovered great moderation, even when he was spoken to in shocking and injurious terms; and also, which is no less worthy of admiration, when truth was told him; a great quality, says Seneca, in kings, and highly conducive to the happiness of their reign. At the close of an audience, which he gave to some Athenian ambassadors who were come to complain of some act of hostility, he asked, whether he could do them any service? "The greatest service thou couldst do us," said Demochares, "would be to hang thyself." Philip, though he perceived all the persons present were highly offended at these words, however made the following answer, with the utmost calmness of temper: "Go, tell your superiors, that "those who dare make use of such insolent language, are more "haughty, and less peaceably inclined, than they who can for-"give them."

‡ Being present, in an indecent posture, at the sale of some captives, one of them going up to him, whispered in his ear, "Let down the lappet of your robe;" upon which Philip replied, "Set the man at liberty; I did not know till now that "he was one of my friends."

§ The whole court soliciting him to punish the ingratitude of the Peloponnesians, who had hissed him publicly in the Olympic games: "What won't they attempt," replied Philip, "should I do them any injury, since they laugh at me, after "having received so many favours at my hand?

‖ His courtiers advising him to drive from him a certain person who spake ill of him: "Yes, indeed," says he, "and so "he will go and speak injuriously of me every-where." Another time, that they advised him to dismiss a man of probity, who had reproached him: "Let us first take care," says he, "that we have not given him any reason to do so." Hearing afterwards that the person in question was but in poor circumstances, and in no favour with the courtiers, he was very bountiful to him; on which occasion his reproaches were changed into applauses, that occasioned another fine saying of this prince's: "It is in the power of kings to make themselves "beloved or hated.

** Being urged to assist, with the credit and authority he had with the judges, a person whose reputation would be quite lost,

* Senec. de Ira. l. iii. c. 23.

† Si quæ alia in Philippo virtus, fuit et contumeliarum patientia, ingens instrumentum ad tutelam regni.

‡ Plut. § Ibid. ‖ Plut. in Apophth. ** Plut.

by the ſentence which was going to be pronounced againſt him: "I had rather," ſays he, "he ſhould loſe his reputation, than "I mine."

* Philip riſing from an entertainment, at which he had ſat ſeveral hours, was addreſſed by a woman, who begged him to examine her cauſe, and to hear ſeveral reaſons ſhe had to allege which were not pleaſing to him. He accordingly heard it, and gave ſentence againſt her; upon which ſhe replied very calmly, "I appeal."—"How!" ſays Philip, "from your king? "To whom then?"—"To Philip when faſting," replied the woman. The manner in which he received this anſwer, would do honour to the moſt ſober prince. He afterwards gave the cauſe a ſecond hearing, found the injuſtice of his ſentence, and condemned himſelf to make it good.

† A poor woman uſed to appear often before him, to ſue for audience, and to beſeech him to put an end to her law-ſuit; but Philip always told her he had no time. Exaſperated at theſe refuſals, which had been ſo often repeated, ſhe replied one day with émotion; "If you have not time to do me juſtice, "be no longer king." Philip was ſtrongly affected with this rebuke, which a juſt indignation had extorted from this poor woman; and ſo far from being offended at it, he ſatisfied her that inſtant, and afterwards became exact in giving audience. He indeed was ſenſible, that a king and a judge are the ſame thing; that the throne is a tribunal; that the ſovereign authority is a ſupreme power, and at the ſame time an indiſpenſable obligation to do juſtice; that to diſtribute it to his ſubjects, and to grant them the time neceſſary for that purpoſe, was not a favour, but a duty and a debt; that he ought to appoint perſons to aſſiſt him in this function, but not to diſcharge himſelf abſolutely from it; and that he was no leſs obliged to be a judge than a king. All theſe circumſtances are included in this natural, unaffected, and very wiſe expreſſion: "Be no longer king ‡;" and Philip comprehended all its force.

§ He underſtood raillery, was very fond of ſmart ſayings, and very happy at them himſelf. Having received a wound near the throat, and his ſurgeon importuning him daily with ſome new requeſt: "Take what thou wilt," ſays he, "for "thou haſt me by the throat."

‖ It is alſo related, that after hearing two villains, who ac-

* Plut. † Ibid. ‡ Καὶ μὴ Βασιλευε.
§ Plut. ‖ Ibid.

cuſed

cuſed each other of various crimes, he baniſhed the one, and ſentenced the other to follow him.

* Menecrates, the phyſician, who was ſo mad as to fancy himſelf Jupiter, wrote to Philip as follows: "Menecrates Jupi-"ter, to Philip greeting." Philip anſwered: "Philip to Me-"necrates, health and reaſon†." But this king did not ſtop here; for he hit upon a pleaſant remedy for his viſionary correſpondent. Philip invited him to a grand entertainment. Menecrates had a ſeparate table at it, where nothing was ſerved up to him but incenſe and perfume, whilſt all the other gueſts fed upon the moſt exquiſite dainties. The firſt tranſports of joy with which he was ſeized, when he found his divinity acknowledged, made him forget that he was a man; but, hunger afterwards forcing him to recollect his being ſo, he was quite tired with the character of Jupiter, and took leave of the company abruptly.

‡ Philip made an anſwer which redounded highly to the honour of his prime miniſter. That prince being one day reproached with devoting too many hours to ſleep: "I indeed "ſleep," ſays he, "but Antipater wakes."

§ Parmenio, hearing the ambaſſadors of all Greece murmuring one day becauſe Philip lay too long in bed, and did not give them audience: "Do not wonder," ſays he, "if he ſleeps "whilſt you wake; for he waked whilſt you ſlept." By this he wittily reproached them for their ſupineneſs, in neglecting their intereſts, whilſt Philip was very vigilant in regard to his. This Demoſthenes was perpetually obſerving to them with his uſual freedom.

‖ Every one of the ten tribes of Athens uſed to elect a new general every year. Theſe did their duty by turns, and every general for the day commanded as generaliſſimo. But Philip joked upon this multiplicity of chiefs, and ſaid, "In my whole "life I could never find but one general (Parmenio), whereas "the Athenians can find ten every year, at the very inſtant "they want them."

The letter which Philip wrote to Ariſtotle on the birth of his ſon, proves the regard that prince paid to learned men, and at the ſame time the taſte he himſelf had for the polite arts and ſciences. The other letters of his, which are ſtill extant, do him no leſs honour. But his great talent was that of war and policy, in which he was equalled by few; and it is time to conſider him under this double character. I beg

* Ælian. lib. xii. cap. 51.
† The Greek word ὑγιαίνειν ſignifies both theſe things.
‡ Plut. § Ibid. ‖ Ibid. in Apoph. p. i. 177.

the reader to remember, that M. de Tourreil is the author of moſt of the ſubſequent particulars, and that it is he who is going to give them the picture of king Philip.

It would be difficult to determine, whether this prince were more conſpicuous as a warrior or a ſtateſman. Surrounded from the very beginning of his reign, both at home and abroad, with powerful enemies, he employed artifice and force alternately to defeat them. He uſes his endeavours with ſucceſs to divide his opponents: to ſtrike the ſurer, he eludes and diverts the blows which were aimed at himſelf; equally prudent in good and ill fortune, he does not abuſe victory; as ready to purſue or wait for it, he either haſtens his pace or ſlackens it, as neceſſity requires; he leaves nothing to the caprice of chance, but what cannot be directed by wiſdom; in fine, he is ever immoveable, ever fixed in the juſt bounds which divide boldneſs from temerity.

In Philip we perceive a king who commands his allies as much as his own ſubjects, and is as formidable in treaties as in battles; a vigilant and active monarch, who is his own ſuperintendent, his own prime miniſter and generaliſſimo. We ſee him fired with an inſatiable thirſt of glory, ſearching for it where it is ſold at the deareſt price; making fatigue and danger his deareſt delights; forming inceſſantly that juſt, that ſpeedy harmony of reflection and action which military expeditions require; and with all theſe advantages turning the fury of his arms againſt commonwealths, exhauſted by long wars, torn by inteſtine diviſions, ſold by their own citizens, ſerved by a body of mercenary or undiſciplined troops, obſtinately deaf to good advice, and ſeemingly determined on their ruin.

He united in himſelf two qualities which are commonly found incompatible, *viz.* a ſteadineſs and calmneſs of ſoul that enabled him to weigh all things, in order to take advantage of every juncture, and to ſeize the favourable moment without being diſconcerted by diſappointments; this calmneſs, I ſay, was united with a reſtleſs activity, ardour and vivacity, which were regardleſs of the difference of ſeaſons, or the greateſt of dangers. No warrior was ever bolder, or more intrepid in fight. Demoſthenes, who cannot be ſuſpected to have flattered him, gives a glorious teſtimony of him on this head; for which reaſon I will cite his own words. * "I ſaw," ſays this orator, "this very Philip, with whom we diſputed for ſovereignty and empire; I ſaw him, though covered with wounds, his eye ſtruck out, his collar-bone broke, maimed both in

* Demoſth. pro Cteſ. p. 483.

his

" his hands and feet; ſtill reſolutely ruſh into the midſt of " dangers, and ready to deliver up to fortune, any other part " of his body ſhe might deſire, provided he might live honour- " ably and gloriouſly with the reſt of it."

Philip was not only brave himſelf, but inſpired his whole army with the ſame valour. Inſtructed by able maſters in the ſcience of war, as the reader has ſeen, he had brought his troops to the moſt exact regular diſcipline; and trained up men capable of ſeconding him in his great enterpriſes. He had the art, without leſſening his own authority, to familiarize himſelf with his ſoldiers; and commanded rather as the father of a family, than as the general of an army, whenever conſiſtent with diſcipline: and indeed, from his affability, which merited ſo much the greater ſubmiſſion and reſpect, as he required leſs, and ſeemed to diſpenſe with it, his ſoldiers were always ready to follow him to the greateſt dangers, and paid him the moſt implicit obedience.

No general ever made a greater uſe of military ſtratagems than Philip. The dangers to which he had been expoſed in his youth, had taught him the neceſſity of precautions, and the art of reſources. A wiſe diffidence, which is of ſervice, as it ſhows danger in its true light, made him not fearful and irreſolute, but cautious and prudent. What reaſon ſoever he might have to flatter himſelf with the hope of ſucceſs, he never depended upon it; and thought himſelf ſuperior to the enemy only in vigilance. Ever juſt in his projects, and inexhauſtible in expedients; his views were unbounded; his genius was wonderful, in fixing upon proper junctures for the execution of his deſigns; and his dexterity in acting in an imperceptible manner no leſs admirable. Impenetrable as to his ſecrets, even to his beſt friends, he was capable of attempting or concealing any thing. The reader may have obſerved, that he ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to lull the Athenians aſleep, by a ſpecious outſide of peace, and to lay ſilently the foundations of his grandeur in their credulous ſecurity and blind indolence.

But theſe exalted qualities were not without imperfections. Not to mention his exceſs in eating and carouſing, to which he abandoned himſelf with the utmoſt intemperance, he alſo has been reproached with the moſt diſſolute abandoned manners. We may form a judgment of this from thoſe who were moſt intimate with him, and the company which uſually frequented his palace. A ſet of profligate debauchees, buffoons, pantomimes, and wretches worſe than theſe, flatterers I mean, whom avarice and ambition draw in crowds round the great and power-

ful;

ful; such were the people who had the greatest share in his confidence and bounty. Demosthenes is not the only person who reproaches Philip with these frailties (for this might be suspected in an enemy), but Theopompus*, a famous historian, who had written the history of that prince in 58 books, of which unhappily a few fragments only are extant, gives a still more disadvantageous character of him. "Philip," says † he, "despised modesty and regularity of life. He lavished his "esteem and liberality on men abandoned to debauch and the "last excesses of licentiousness. He was pleased to see the "companions of his pleasures excel no less in the abominable "arts of injustice and malignity, than in the science of de-"bauchery. Alas! what species of infamy, what sort of "crimes did they not commit!" &c.

But a circumstance, in my opinion, which reflects the greatest dishonour on Philip, is that very one for which he is chiefly esteemed by many persons; I mean his politics. He is considered as a prince of the greatest abilities in this art that ever lived: and, indeed, the reader may have observed, by the history of his actions, that, in the very beginning of his reign, he had laid down a plan, from which he never deviated, and this was to raise himself to the sovereignty of Greece. When scarce seated on his throne, and surrounded on every side with powerful enemies, what probability was there that he could form, at least that he could execute, such a project as this? However, he did not once lose sight of it. Wars, battles, treaties of peace, alliances, confederacies; in short, all things terminated there. He was very lavish of his gold and silver, merely to engage creatures in his service. He carried on a private intelligence with all the cities of Greece; and by the assistance of pensioners, on whom he had settled very large stipends, he was informed very exactly of all the resolutions taken in them, and generally gave them the turn in his own favour. By this means he deceived the prudence, eluded the efforts, and lulled asleep the vigilance of states, which till then had been looked upon as the most active, the wisest, and most penetrating of all Greece. In treading in these steps for 20 years together, we see him proceeding with great order, and advancing regularly towards the mark on which his eye was fixed; but always by windings and subterraneous passages, the outlets of which only discover the design.

* Diod. Sic. l. xvi. p. 408.

† Theopom. apud Athen. l. vi. p. 206.

Polyænus

* Polyænus shows us evidently the methods whereby he subjected Thessaly, which was of great advantage to the completing of his other designs. "He did not," says he, "carry "on an open war against the Thessalians; but took advantage "of the discord that divided the cities and the whole country "into different factions. He succoured those who sued for "his assistance; and whenever he had conquered, he did not "entirely ruin the vanquished, he did not disarm them, nor "raze their walls; on the contrary, he protected the weakest, "and endeavoured to weaken and subject the strongest; in a "word, he rather fomented than appeased their divisions, "having in every place orators in his pay, those artificers of "discord, those firebrands of commonwealths. And it was "by these stratagems, not by arms, that Philip subdued "Thessaly."

† All this is a master-piece, a miracle in point of politics. But what engines does this art play, what methods does it employ to compass its designs? Deceit, craft, fraud, falsehood, perfidy, and perjury. Are these the weapons of virtue? We see in this prince a boundless ambition, conducted by an artful, insinuating, subtle genius; but we do not find him possessed of the qualities which form the truly great man. Philip had neither faith nor honour; every thing that could contribute to the aggrandizing of his power, was in his sense just and lawful. He gave his word, with a firm resolution to break it; and made promises which he would have been very sorry to keep. He thought himself skilful in proportion as he was perfidious, and made his glory consist in deceiving all with whom he treated. ‡ He did not blush to say, "That children were "amused with play-things, and men with oaths."

How shameful was it for a prince to be distinguished by being more artful, a greater dissembler, more profound in malice, and more a knave than any other person of his age, and to leave so infamous an idea of himself to all posterity? What idea should we form to ourselves in the commerce of the world, of a man who should value himself for tricking others, and rank insincerity and fraud among virtues? Such a character in private life is detested as the bane and ruin of society. How then can it become an object of esteem and admiration in princes and ministers of state, persons who are bound by stronger ties than the rest of men, because of the eminence of their sta-

* Polyæn. l. iv. c. 19.
† Demosth. Olynth. ii. p. 22.
‡ Ælian. l. vii. c. 14.

tions,

tions, and the importance of the employments they fill, to revere ſincerity, juſtice, and, above all, the ſanctity of treaties and oaths; to bind which they invoke the name and majeſty of a God, the inexorable avenger of perfidy and impiety? A bare promiſe among private perſons ought to be ſacred and inviolable, if they have the leaſt ſenſe of honour; but how much more ought it to be ſo among princes! "We are bound," ſays a celebrated writer *, "to ſpeak truth to our neighbour; for "the uſe and application of ſpeech implies a tacit promiſe of "truth; ſpeech having been given us for no other purpoſe. "It is not a compact between one private man with another; "it is a common compact of mankind in general, and a kind of "right of nations, or rather a law of nature. Now, whoever "tells an untruth, violates this law and common compact." How greatly is the enormity of violating the ſanctity of an oath increaſed, when we call upon the name of God to witneſs it, as is the cuſtom always in treaties! "† Were ſincerity and "truth baniſhed from every other part of the earth," ſaid John I. king of France, upon his being ſolicited to violate a treaty, "they ought to be found in the hearts and in the "mouths of kings."

The circumſtance which prompts politicians to act in this manner, is, their being perſuaded that it is the only means to make a negotiation ſucceed. But though this were the caſe, yet can it ever be lawful to purchaſe ſuch ſucceſs at the expence of probity, honour, and religion? "‡ If your father-in-"law," (Ferdinand the catholic), ſaid Lewis XII. to Philip, archduke of Auſtria, "has acted perfidiouſly, I am determined "not to imitate him; and I am much more pleaſed in having "loſt a kingdom (Naples) which I am able to recover, than I "ſhould have been had I loſt my honour, which can never be "recovered."

But thoſe politicians, who have neither honour nor religion, deceive themſelves, even in this very particular. I ſhall not have recourſe to the Chriſtian world for princes and miniſters, whoſe notions of policy were very different from theſe. To go no farther than our Greek hiſtory, how many great men have we ſeen perfectly ſucceſsful in the adminiſtration of public affairs, in treaties of peace and war; in a word, in the moſt important negotiations, without once making uſe of artifice and deceit? An Ariſtides, a Cimon, a Phocion, and ſo many more; ſome of whom were ſo very ſcrupulous in matters relating to

* M. Nicole, on the epiſt. of the 19th ſunday after Whitſuntide.
† Mezerai. ‡ Ibid.

truth,

truth, as to believe they were not allowed to tell a falſehood, even laughing and in ſport. Cyrus, the moſt famous conqueror of the eaſt, thought nothing was more unworthy of a prince, nor more capable of drawing upon him the contempt and hatred of his ſubjects, than lying and deceit. It therefore ought to be looked upon as a truth, that no ſucceſs, how ſhining ſoever, can, or ought to cover the ſhame and ignominy which ariſe from breach of faith and perjury.

# BOOK FIFTEENTH.

THE

# HISTORY

OF

# ALEXANDER.

## PLAN.

I have already obſerved, that the hiſtory of Alexander, compriſed in the following book, contains the ſpace of 12 years and eight months.

## SECTION I.

ALEXANDER'S BIRTH.—ARISTOTLE APPOINTED HIS PRECEPTOR.—HE BREAKS BUCEPHALUS.

ALEXANDER* came into the world the firſt year of the 106th Olympiad.

The very day he came into the world, the celebrated temple of Diana in Epheſus was burned. The reader knows, without doubt, that it was one of the ſeven wonders of the world. It had been built in the name, and at the expence of all Aſia Minor. A great number of years † were employed in building it. Its length was 425 feet, and its breadth 220. It was ſupported by 127 colums, 60 feet high, which ſo many ‡ kings had cauſed to be wrought at a great expence, and by the moſt excellent artiſts, who endeavoured to excel one another on this occaſion. The reſt of the temple was equal to the columns in magnificence.

§ Hegeſias‖ of Magneſia, according to Plutarch, ſays, "That "it was no wonder the temple was burned, becauſe Diana was

* A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 14.
† Pliny ſays 220 years, which is not probable.
‡ Anciently, moſt cities were governed by their particular King.
§ Plut. in Alex. p. 665.
‖ He was an hiſtorian, and lived in the time of Ptolemy, ſon of Lagus.

" that day employed at the delivery of Olympias, to facilitate " the birth of Alexander." A reflection, says our author, so very * cold, that it might have extinguished the fire. † Cicero, who ascribes this saying to Timæus, declares it a very smart one, at which I am very much surprised. Possibly the fondness he had for jokes, made him not very delicate in things of this kind.

‡ One Herostratus had fired that temple on purpose. Being put to the torture, in order to force him to confess his motive for committing so infamous an action, he confessed that it was the view of making himself known to posterity, and to immortalize his name, by destroying so noble a structure. The states-general of Asia imagined they should prevent the success of his view, by publishing a decree to prohibit the mention of his name. However, their prohibition only excited a greater curiosity; for scarce one of the historians of that age has omitted to mention so monstrous an extravagance, and at the same time have told us the name of the criminal.

‖ The passion which prevailed most in Alexander, even from his tender years, was ambition, and an ardent desire of glory; but not for every species of glory. Philip, like a sophist, valued himself upon his eloquence and the beauty of his style, and had the vanity to have engraved on his coins the several victories he had won at the Olympic games in the chariot-race. But it was not to this his son aspired. His friends asking him one day, whether he would not be present at the games above mentioned, in order to dispute the prize bestowed on that occasion (for he was very swift of foot), he answered, " that " he would contend in them, provided kings were to be his an- " tagonists."

Every time news was brought him that his father had taken some city, or gained some great battle, Alexander, so far from sharing in the general joy, used to say, in a plaintive tone of voice, to the young persons that were brought up with him: " Friends, my father will possess himself of every thing, and " leave nothing for us to do."

One day some ambassadors from the king of Persia being

* I don't know whether Plutarch's reflection be not still colder.

† Concinne, ut multa, Timæus; qui, cum in historia dixisset, qua nocte natus Alexander esset, eadem Dianæ Ephesiæ templum deflagravisse, adjunxit: minime id esse mirandum, quod Diana, cum in partu Olympiadis adesse voluisset, abfuisset domo. De Nat. Deor l. 2. n. 69.

‡ Valer. Max. l. viii. c. 14.

§ Plut. in vit. Alex. p. 665—668. Id. de fortun. Alex. p. 342.

arrived

arrived at court during Philip's abſence, Alexander gave them ſo kind and ſo polite a reception, and regaled them in ſo noble and generous a manner, as charmed them all; but that which moſt ſurpriſed them was, the good ſenſe and judgment he diſcovered in the ſeveral converſations they had with him. He did not propoſe to them any thing that was trifling, and like one of his age; ſuch, for inſtance, as inquiring about the ſo much boaſted gardens ſuſpended in the air, the riches and magnificence of the palace and court of the king of Perſia, which excited the admiration of the whole world; the famous golden plantane tree; * and that golden vine, the grapes of which were of emeralds, carbuncles, rubies, and all ſorts of precious ſtones, under which the Perſian monarch was ſaid frequently to give audience: Alexander, I ſay, aſked them queſtions of a quite different nature; inquiring which was the road to Upper Aſia; the diſtance of the ſeveral places; in what the ſtrength and power of the king of Perſia conſiſted; in what part of the battle he fought; how he behaved towards his enemies; and in what manner he governed his ſubjects. Theſe ambaſſadors admired him all the while; and perceiving even at that time how great he might one day become, they obſerved, in a few words, the difference they found between Alexander and Artaxerxes†, by ſaying one to another, "‡ This young prince "is great, and ours is rich." That man muſt be vaſtly inſignificant, who has no other merit than his riches!

So ripe a judgment in this young prince, was owing as much to the good education which had been given him, as to the happineſs of his natural parts. Several preceptors were appointed to teach him all ſuch arts and ſciences as are worthy the heir to a great kingdom; and the chief of theſe was Leonidas, a perſon of the moſt ſevere morals, and a relation of the queen. Alexander himſelf tells us afterwards, that this Leonidas, in their journeys together, uſed frequently to look into the trunks where his beds and clothes were laid, in order to ſee if Olympias his mother had not put ſomething ſuperfluous into them, which might adminiſter to delicacy and luxury.

But the greateſt ſervice Philip did his ſon, was appointing Ariſtotle his preceptor, the moſt famous and the moſt learned philoſopher of his age, whom he intruſted with the whole care of his education. ‖ One of the reaſons which prompted Phi-

* Athen. l. xii. p. 739. † Artaxerxes Ochus.
‡ Ὁ παῖς, ἔτος, βασιλευς μέγας· ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος, πλέσιος.
‖ Plut. in Apoph. p. 178.

lip

lip to chooſe him a maſter of ſo conſpicuous a reputation and merit was, as he himſelf tells us, that his ſon might avoid committing a great many faults, of which he himſelf had been guilty.

Philip was ſenſible, how great a treaſure he poſſeſſed in the perſon of Ariſtotle; for which reaſon he ſettled a very conſiderable ſtipend upon him, and afterwards rewarded his pains and care in an infinitely more glorious manner; for having deſtroyed and laid waſte the city of * Stagira, the native place of that philoſopher, he rebuilt it, purely out of affection for him; reinſtated the inhabitants who had fled from it, or were made ſlaves; and gave them a fine park in the neighbourhood of Stagira, as a place for their ſtudies and aſſemblies. Even in Plutarch's time, the ſtone ſeats which Ariſtotle had placed there were ſtanding; as alſo ſpacious viſtos, under which thoſe who walked were ſhaded from the ſun-beams.

Alexander likewiſe diſcovered no leſs eſteem for his maſter, whom he believed himſelf bound to love as much as if he had been his father; declaring, "† that he was indebted to the "one for living, and to the other for living well." The progreſs of the pupil was equal to the care and abilities of the preceptor. ‡He grew vaſtly fond of philoſophy; and learned the ſeveral parts of it, but in a manner ſuitable to his birth. Ariſtotle endeavoured to improve his judgment, by laying down ſure and certain rules, by which he might diſtinguiſh juſt and ſolid reaſoning from what is but ſpecioufly ſo; and by accuſtoming him to ſeparate in diſcourſe all ſuch parts as only dazzle, from thoſe which are truly ſolid, and ſhould conſtitute its whole value. He alſo exerciſed him in metaphyſics, which may be of great benefit to a prince, provided he applies himſelf to them with moderation, as they explain to him the nature of the human mind; how greatly it differs from matter; in what manner he perceives ſpiritual things; how he is ſenſible of the impreſſion of thoſe that ſurround him, and many other queſtions of the like import. The reader will naturally ſuppoſe, that he did not omit either the mathematics, which give the mind ſo juſt a turn of thinking; or the wonders of nature, the ſtudy of which, beſides a great many other advantages, ſhows how very incapable the mind of man is to diſcover the ſecret principles of the things to which he is daily an

* A city of Macedon, near the ſea-ſhore.

† Ὡς δὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν ζῶν, διὰ τοῦτον δὲ καλῶς ζῶν.

‡ Retinuit ex ſapientia modum. Tacit.

eye-witneſs. But Alexander applied himſelf chiefly to morality, which is properly the ſcience of kings, becauſe it is the knowledge of mankind, and of all their duties. This he made his ſerious and profound ſtudy; and conſidered it, even at that time, as the foundation of prudence and wiſe policy. How much muſt ſuch an education contribute to the good conduct of a prince with regard to his own intereſts and the government of his people!

* The greateſt maſter of rhetoric that antiquity could ever boaſt, and who has left ſo excellent a treatiſe on that ſubject, took care to make that ſcience part of his pupil's education; and we find that Alexander, even in the midſt of his conqueſts, was often very urgent with Ariſtotle, to ſend him a treatiſe on that ſubject. To this we owe the work entitled Alexander's Rhetorick; in the beginning of which, Ariſtotle proves to him the vaſt advantages a prince may reap from eloquence, as it gives him the greateſt aſcendant over the minds of men, which he ought to acquire as well by his wiſdom as authority. Some anſwers and letters of Alexander, which are ſtill extant, ſhow that he poſſeſſed, in its greateſt perfection, that ſtrong, that manly eloquence, which abounds with ſenſe and ideas; and which is ſo entirely free from ſuperfluous expreſſions, that every ſingle word has its meaning; which, properly ſpeaking, is the eloquence of kings†.

His eſteem, or rather his paſſion for Homer, ſhows, not only with what vigour and ſucceſs he applied himſelf to polite literature, but the judicious uſe he made of it, and the ſolid advantages he propoſed to himſelf from it. He was not prompted to peruſe this poet merely out of curioſity, or to unbend his mind, or from a great fondneſs for poeſy; but his view in ſtudying this admirable writer was, in order to borrow ſuch ſentiments from him, as are worthy a great king and conqueror, courage, intrepidity, magnanimity, temperance, prudence; the art of commanding well in war and peace. And, indeed, the verſe which pleaſed him moſt in Homer‡, was that where Agamemnon is repreſented as "a good king, "and a brave warrior."

After this it is no wonder that Alexander ſhould have ſo high an eſteem for this poet. Thus, when, after the battle of Arbela, the Macedonians had found amongſt the ſpoils of Darius

* Ariſtot. in rhetoric. ad Alex. p. 608, 609.

† Imperatoria brevitate. Tacit.

‡ Ἀμφότερον, βασιλεὺς τ' ἀγαθὸς, κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής. Iliad. iii. v. 172.

a gold

a gold box, enriched with precious ſtones, in which the excellent perfumes uſed by that prince were put; Alexander, who was quite covered with duſt, and regardleſs of eſſences and perfumes, ordered that this box ſhould be employed to no other uſe than to hold Homer's poems, which he believed the moſt perfect, the moſt precious * production of the human mind. He admired particularly the Iliad, which he called, "† The beſt proviſion for a warrior." He always had with him that edition of Homer which Ariſtotle had reviſed and corrected, and to which the title of the "Edition of the Box" was given; and he laid it, with his ſword, every night, under his pillow.

‡ Fond, even to exceſs, of every kind of glory, he was diſpleaſed with Ariſtotle, his maſter, for having publiſhed, in his abſence, certain metaphyſical pieces, which he himſelf deſired to poſſeſs only; and even at the time when he was employed in the conqueſt of Aſia, and the purſuit of Darius, he wrote to him a letter, which is ſtill extant, wherein he complains upon that very account. Alexander ſays in it, that "§ he had "much rather ſurpaſs the reſt of men in the knowledge of ſub-"lime and excellent things, than in the greatneſs and extent of "his power." He, in like manner, requeſted || Ariſtotle not to ſhow the treatiſe of rhetoric above mentioned to any perſon but himſelf. I will confeſs, that there is an exceſs in this ſtrong deſire of glory, which prompts him to ſuppreſs the merit of others, in order that his only may appear; but then we at leaſt muſt confeſs, that it diſcovers ſuch a paſſion for ſtudy as is very laudable in a prince, and the very reverſe of that indifference, not to ſay contempt and averſion, which moſt young perſons of high birth expreſs for all things that relate to learning and ſtudy.

Plutarch tells us in few words, the infinite advantage that Alexander reaped from this taſte, with which his maſter, than whom no man poſſeſſed greater talents for the education of youth, had inſpired him from his moſt tender infancy. "He "loved," ſaid that author, "to converſe with learned men, to

* Pretioſiſſimum humani animi opus. Plin. l. vii. c. 29.

† Τῆς πολεμικῆς ἀρετῆς ἐφόδιον. This word, which I have not been able to render better, ſignifies, that we find in the Iliad whatever relates to the art of war, and the qualities of a general; in a word, all things neceſſary to form a good commander.

‡ Aul. Gel. l. xx. c. 5.

§ Ἐγὼ δὲ βουλοίμην ἂν ταῖς περὶ τὰ ἄριστα ἐμπειρίαις, ἢ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, διαφέρειν. || Ariſt. p. 609.

" improve himſelf in knowledge, and to ſtudy*;" three ſources of a monarch's happineſs, and which enable him to ſecure himſelf from numberleſs difficulties; three certain and infallible methods of learning to reign without the aſſiſtance of others. The converſation of perſons of fine ſenſe inſtructs a prince by way of amuſement, and teaches him a thouſand curious and uſeful things without coſting him the leaſt trouble. The leſſons which able maſters give him, on the moſt exalted ſciences, and particularly upon politics, improve his mind wonderfully, and furniſh him with rules to govern his ſubjects with wiſdom. In fine, ſtudy, eſpecially that of hiſtory, crowns all the reſt, and is to him a preceptor for all ſeaſons, and for all hours, who, without ever growing troubleſome, acquaints him with truths which no one elſe would dare to tell him, and, under fictitious names, exhibits the prince to himſelf, teaches him to know himſelf as well as mankind, who are the ſame in all ages. Alexander owed all theſe advantages to the excellent education Ariſtotle gave him.

† He had alſo a taſte for the whole circle of arts, but in ſuch a manner as became a prince; that is, he knew the value and uſefulneſs of them. Muſic, painting, ſculpture, architecture, flouriſhed in his reign, becauſe they ‡ found in him both a ſkilful judge and a generous protector, who was able to diſtinguiſh and reward merit.

§ But he deſpiſed certain trifling feats of dexterity, that were of no uſe. Some Macedonians admired very much a man, who employed himſelf very attentively in throwing ſmall peaſe through the eye of a ‖ needle, which he would do at a conſiderable diſtance, and without once miſſing. Alexander ſeeing him at this exerciſe, ordered him, as we are told, a preſent ſuitable to his employment, *viz.* a baſket of peaſe.

Alexander was of a ſprightly diſpoſition; was reſolute, and very tenacious of his opinion, which never gave way to force, but at the ſame time would ſubmit immediately to reaſon and good ſenſe. It is very difficult to treat with perſons of this turn of mind. Philip accordingly, notwithſtanding his double authority of king and father, believed it neceſſary to employ perſuaſion rather than force with reſpect to his ſon, and

* Ἦν φιλόλογος, καὶ φιλομαθὴς, καὶ φιλαναγνώστης.

† Plut. de fortun. Alex. Serm. ii. p. 333.

‡ Μάρτυρα ἔλαιον καί θεατὴν, τὸν ἄριστα κρῖναι τὸ κατορθούμενον, καὶ μάλιστα ἀμείψασθαι δυνάμενον.

§ Quintil. lib. ii. cap. 21.

‖ We may ſuppoſe it was ſome inſtrument in the ſhape of a needle.

endeavoured

endeavoured to make himself beloved rather than feared by him.

An accident made him entertain a very advantageous opinion of Alexander. There had been sent from Thessaly to Philip a war-horse, a noble, strong, fiery, generous beast, called * Bucephalus. The owner would sell him for 13 talents, about L. 1900 Sterling. The king went into the plains, attended by his courtiers, in order to view the perfections of this horse; but upon trial he appeared so very fierce, and pranced about in so furious a manner, that no one dared to mount him. Philip, being angry that so furious and unmanageable a creature had been sent him, gave orders for their carrying him back again. Alexander, who was present at that time, cried out, "What a noble horse they are going to lose, for "want of address and boldness to back him!" Philip at first considered these words as the effect of folly and rashness, so common to young men: but as Alexander insisted still more upon what he had said, and was very much vexed to see so noble a creature just going to be sent home again, his father gave him leave to try what he could do. The young prince, overjoyed at this permission, goes up to Bucephalus, takes hold of the bridle, and turns his head to the sun; having observed, that the thing which frighted him was his own shadow, he seeing it dance about, or sink down, in proportion as he moved. He therefore first stroked him gently with his hand, and soothed him with his voice; then seeing his mettle abate, and artfully taking his opportunity he let fall his cloak, and springing swiftly upon his back, first slackens the rein, without once striking or vexing him: and when he perceived that his fire was cooled, that he was no longer so furious and violent, and wanted only to move forward, he gave him the rein, and spurring him with great vigour, animated him with his voice to his full speed. While this was doing, Philip and his whole court trembled for fear, and did not once open their lips; but when the prince, after having run his first heat, returned with joy and pride, at his having broke a horse which was judged absolutely ungovernable, all the courtiers in general endeavoured to outvie one another in their applauses and congratulations; and we are told, Philip shed tears of joy on this occasion, and embracing Alexander after he was alighted, and kissing his head, he said to him, "My son, seek a kingdom more worthy "of thee, for Macedon is below thy merit."

* Some think he was called so, because his head was like that of an ox.

We are told a great many ſurpriſing particulars of this Bucephalus; for whatever had any relation to Alexander, was to be of the marvellous kind. * When this creature was ſaddled and equipped for battle, he would ſuffer no one to back him but his maſter; and it would not have been ſafe for any other perſon to go near him. Whenever Alexander wanted to mount him, he would kneel down upon his two fore-feet. According to ſome hiſtorians, in the battle againſt Porus, where Alexander had plunged too imprudently amidſt a body of the enemy, his horſe, though wounded in every part of his body, did however exert himſelf in ſo vigorous a manner, that he ſaved his maſter's life; and notwithſtanding the deep wounds he had received, and though almoſt ſpent through the great effuſion of blood, he brought off Alexander from among the combatants, and carried him with inexpreſſible vigour to a place of ſecurity; where perceiving † the king was no longer in danger, and overjoyed in ſome meaſure at the ſervice he had done him, he expired. This indeed is a very noble end for a horſe. Others ſay, that Bucephalus, quite worn out, died at 30 years of age. Alexander bewailed his death bitterly, believing that he had loſt in him a moſt faithful and affectionate friend, and afterwards built a city on the very ſpot where he was buried, near the river Hydaſpes, and called it Bucephalia in honour of him.

I have related elſewhere, that Alexander, at 16 years of age, was appointed regent of Macedonia, and inveſted with abſolute authority during his father's abſence; that he behaved with great prudence and bravery; and that he afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a moſt ſignal manner at the battle of Chæronea.

## SECTION II.

### ALEXANDER ASCENDS THE THRONE. DECLARED GENERALISSIMO OF THE GREEKS AGAINST THE PERSIANS.

Darius and Alexander‡ began to reign the ſame year: The latter was but 20 when he ſucceeded to the crown. His firſt care was to ſolemnize the funeral obſequies of his father with the utmoſt pomp, and to revenge his death.

Upon his acceſſion to the throne, he ſaw himſelf ſurround-

* Aul. Gel. l. v. c. 2.

† Et domini jam ſuperſtitis ſecurus, quaſi cum ſenſus humani ſolatio, animem expiravit. Aul. Gel.

‡ A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 386. Plut. in Alex. p. 670, 672. Diod. l. xvii. p. 486—489. Arian. l. i. de expedit. Alex. p. 2—23.

ed

ed with extreme dangers. The barbarous nations againſt whom Philip had fought during his whole reign, and from whom he had made ſeveral conqueſts, which he had united to his crown, after having dethroned their natural kings, thought proper to take the advantage of this juncture, in which a new prince, who was but young, had aſcended the throne, for recovering their liberty, and uniting againſt the common uſurper. Nor was he under leſs apprehenſions from Greece. Philip, though he had permitted the ſeveral cities and commonwealths to continue their ancient form of government, had however entirely changed it in reality, and made himſelf abſolute maſter of it. Though he were abſent, he nevertheleſs ruled in all aſſemblies; and not a ſingle reſolution was taken, but in ſubordination to his will. Though he had ſubdued all Greece, either by the terror of his arms, or the ſecret machinations of policy, he had not had time ſufficient to ſubject and accuſtom it to his power, but had left all things in it in great ferment and diſorder, the minds of the vanquiſhed not being yet calmed or moulded to ſubjection.

The Macedonians, reflecting on this precarious ſituation of things, adviſed Alexander to relinquiſh Greece, and not perſiſt in his reſolution of ſubduing it by force*; to recover by gentle methods the Barbarians who had taken arms, and to ſooth, as it were, thoſe glimmerings of revolt and innovation by prudent reſerve, complacency, and inſinuation, in order to conciliate affection. However, Alexander would not liſten to theſe timorous counſels, but reſolved to ſecure and ſupport his affairs by boldneſs and magnanimity; firmly perſuaded, that ſhould he relax in any point at firſt, all his neighbours would fall upon him; and that were he to endeavour to compromiſe matters, he ſhould be obliged to give up all Philip's conqueſts, and by that means confine his dominions to the narrow limits of Macedon. He therefore made all poſſible haſte to check the arms of the Barbarians, by marching his troops to the banks of the Danube, which he croſſed in one night. He defeated the king of the Triballi in a great battle; made the Getæ fly at his approach; ſubdued ſeveral barbarous nations, ſome by the terror of his name, and others by force of arms; and notwithſtanding the arrogant † anſwer of their ambaſſadors, he taught

* Θεραπεύειν τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν νεωτερισμῶν.

† Alexander imagining that his name only had ſtruck theſe people with terror, aſked their ambaſſadors what things they dreaded moſt? They replied, with a haughty tone of voice, that they were afraid of nothing but the falling of the ſky and ſtars.

them

them to dread a danger ſtill more near them than the falling of the ſky and planets.

Whilſt Alexander was thus employed at a diſtance againſt the Barbarians, all the cities of Greece, who were animated more particularly by Demoſthenes, formed a powerful alliance againſt that prince. A falſe report, which prevailed of his death, inſpired the Thebans with a boldneſs that proved their ruin. They cut to pieces part of the Macedonian garriſon in their citadel. * Demoſthenes, on the other ſide, was every day haranguing the people; and fired with contempt for Alexander, whom he called a child, and a hare-brained boy†, he aſſured the Athenians, with a deciſive tone of voice, that they had nothing to fear from the new king of Macedon, who did not dare to ſtir out of his kingdom, but would think himſelf vaſtly happy, could he ſit peaceably on his throne. At the ſame time he writ letters upon letters to Attalus, one of Philip's lieutenants in Aſia Minor, to excite him to rebel. This Attalus was uncle to Cleopatra, Philip's ſecond wife, and was very much diſpoſed to liſten to Demoſthenes's propoſals. Nevertheleſs, as Alexander was grown very diffident of him, for which he knew there was but too much reaſon, he therefore, to eradicate from his mind all the ſuſpicions he might entertain, and the better to ſcreen his deſigns, ſent all Demoſthenes's letters to that prince. But Alexander ſaw through all his artifices, and thereupon ordered Hecatæus, one of his commanders, whom he had ſent into Aſia for that purpoſe, to have him aſſaſſinated, which was executed accordingly. Attalus's death reſtored tranquillity to the army, and entirely deſtroyed the ſeeds of diſcord and rebellion.

‡ When Alexander had ſecured his kingdom from the Barbarians, he marched with the utmoſt expedition towards Greece, and paſſed the Thermopylæ. He then ſpoke as follows to thoſe who accompanied him: "Demoſthenes called me, in his ora-
"tions, a child, when I was in Illyria, and among the Triballi;
"he called me a young man when I was in Theſſaly; and I
"muſt now ſhow him, before the walls of Athens, that I am
"a man grown." He appeared ſo ſuddenly in Bœotia, that the Thebans could ſcarce believe their eyes; and being come before their walls, was willing to give them time to repent, and only demanded to have Phœnix and Prothutes, the two chief

* Æſchin. contra Cteſiph. p. 454.

† It is *παιγνίτης* in Greek, a word which ſignifies many things in that language.

‡ A. M. 3670. Ant. J. C. 334.

ringleaders

ringleaders of the revolt, delivered up to him; and publiſhed, by ſound of trumpet, a general pardon to all who ſhould come over to him. But the Thebans, by way of inſult, demanded to have Philotas and Antipater delivered to them; and invited, by a declaration, all who were ſolicitous for the liberty of Greece, to join with them in its defence.

Alexander, finding it impoſſible for him to get the better of their obſtinacy by offers of peace, ſaw with grief that he ſhould be forced to employ his power, and decide the affair by force of arms. A great battle was thereupon fought, in which the Thebans exerted themſelves with a bravery and ardour much beyond their ſtrength, for the enemy exceeded them vaſtly in numbers: but after a long and vigorous reſiſtance, ſuch as ſurvived of the Macedonian garriſon in the citadel coming down from it, and charging the Thebans in the rear, ſurrounded on all ſides, the greateſt part of them were cut to pieces, and the city was taken and plundered.

It would be impoſſible for words to expreſs the dreadful calamities which the Thebans ſuffered on this occaſion. Some Thracians having pulled down the houſe of a virtuous lady of quality, Timoclea by name, carried off all her goods and treaſures; and their captain having ſeized the lady, and ſatiated his brutal luſt with her, afterwards enquired whether ſhe had not concealed gold and ſilver. Timoclea, animated by an ardent deſire of revenge, replying that ſhe had hid ſome, took him with herſelf only into her garden, and ſhowing him a well, told him, that the inſtant ſhe ſaw the enemy enter the city, ſhe herſelf had thrown into it the moſt valuable things in her poſſeſſion. The officer, overjoyed at what he heard, drew near the well, and ſtooping down to ſee its depth, Timoclea, who was behind, puſhing him with all her ſtrength, threw him into the well, and afterwards killed him with great ſtones which ſhe threw upon him. She was inſtantly ſeized by the Thracians, and, being bound in chains, was carried before Alexander. The prince perceived immediately by her mien that ſhe was a woman of quality and great ſpirit, for ſhe followed thoſe brutal wretches with a very haughty air, and without diſcovering the leaſt fear. Alexander aſking her who ſhe was, Timoclea replied: I am ſiſter to Theagenes, who fought againſt Philip for the liberty of Greece, and was killed in the battle of Chæronea, where he commanded. The prince, admiring the generous anſwer of that lady, and ſtill more the action that ſhe had done, gave orders that ſhe ſhould have leave to retire wherever ſhe pleaſed with her children.

Alexander

Alexander then debated in council, how to act with regard to Thebes. The Phocæans and the people of Platæa, Theſpiæ, and Orchomenus, who were all in alliance with Alexander, and had ſhared in his victory, repreſented to him the cruel treatment they had met with from the Thebans, who alſo had deſtroyed their ſeveral cities, and reproached them with the zeal which they had always diſcovered in favour of the Perſians againſt the Greeks, who held them in the utmoſt deteſtation; the proof of which was, the oath they all had taken to deſtroy Thebes, after they ſhould have vanquiſhed the Perſians.

Cleades, one of the priſoners, being permitted to ſpeak, endeavoured to excuſe, in ſome meaſure, the revolt of the Thebans; a fault which, in his opinion, ſhould be imputed to a raſh and credulous imprudence, rather than to depravity of will and declared perfidy. He remonſtrated, that his countrymen, upon a falſe report of Alexander's death, had indeed too raſhly broke into rebellion, not againſt the king, but againſt his ſucceſſors: that what crimes ſoever they might have committed, they had been puniſhed for them with the utmoſt ſeverity, by the dreadful calamity which had befallen their city: that there now remained in it none but women, children, and old men, from whom they had nothing to fear, and who were ſo much the greater objects of compaſſion, as they had been no ways concerned in the revolt. He concluded with reminding Alexander, that Thebes, which had given birth to ſo many gods and heroes, ſeveral of whom were that king's anceſtors, had alſo been the ſeat of his father Philip's riſing glory, and like a ſecond native country to him.

Theſe motives, which Cleades urged, were very ſtrong and powerful; nevertheleſs, the anger of the conqueror prevailed, and the city was deſtroyed. However, he ſet at liberty the prieſts; all ſuch as had right of hoſpitality with the Macedonians; the deſcendants of Pindar, the famous poet, who had done ſo much honour to Greece; and ſuch as had oppoſed the revolt: but all the reſt, in number about 30,000, he ſold, and upwards of 6000 had been killed in battle. The Athenians were ſo ſenſibly afflicted at the ſad diſaſter which had befallen Thebes, that being about to ſolemnize the feſtival of the great myſteries, they ſuſpended them, upon account of their extreme grief, and received with the greateſt humanity all thoſe who had fled from the battle, and the plunder of Thebes, and made Athens their aſylum.

Alexander's ſo ſudden arrival in Greece had very much abated

abated the haughtineſs of the Athenians, and extinguiſhed Demoſthenes' vehemence and fire; but the ruin of Thebes, which was ſtill more ſudden, threw them into the utmoſt conſternation. They therefore had recourſe to entreaties, and ſent a deputation to Alexander, to implore his clemency. Demoſthenes was among them; but he was no ſooner arrived at mount Cytheron, than, dreading the anger of that prince, he quitted the embaſſy, and returned home.

Immediately Alexander ſent to Athens, requiring the citizens to deliver up to him ten orators, whom he ſuppoſed to have been the chief inſtruments in forming the league which Philip his father had defeated at Chæronea. It was on this occaſion Demoſthenes related to the people the fable of the wolves and dogs, in which it is ſuppoſed, "That the wolves "one day told the ſheep, that in caſe they deſired to be at "peace with them, they muſt deliver up to them the dogs who "were their guard." The application was eaſy and natural, eſpecially with reſpect to the orators, who were juſtly compared to dogs, whoſe duty is to watch, to bark, and to fight, in order to ſave the lives of the flock.

In this prodigious dilemma of the Athenians, who could not prevail with themſelves to deliver up their orators to certain death, though they had no other way to ſave their city, Demades, whom Alexander had honoured with his friendſhip, offered to undertake the embaſſy alone, and intercede for them. The king, whether he had ſatiated his revenge, or endeavoured to blot out, if poſſible, by ſome act of clemency, the barbarous action he had juſt before committed; or rather, to remove the ſeveral obſtacles which might retard the execution of his grand deſign, and by that means not leave, during his abſence, the leaſt pretence for murmurs; waved his demand with regard to the delivery of the orators, and was pacified by their ſending Caridemus into baniſhment, who being a native of * Oræa, had been preſented by the Athenians with his freedom, for the ſervices he had done the republic. He was ſon-in-law to Cherſobleptus, king of Thrace; had learned the art of war under Iphicrates; and had himſelf frequently commanded the Athenian armies. To avoid the purſuit of Alexander, he took refuge with the king of Perſia.

As for the Athenians, he not only forgave them the ſeveral injuries he pretended to have received, but expreſſed a particular regard for them, exhorting them to apply themſelves vi-

* A city of Eubœa.

gorouſly

goronſly to public affairs, and to keep a watchful eye over the ſeveral tranſactions which might happen; becauſe, in caſe of his death, their city was to give law to the reſt of Greece. Hiſtorians relate, that, many years after this expedition, he was ſeized with deep remorſe for the calamity he had brought upon the Thebans, and that this made him behave with much greater humanity towards many other nations.

So dreadful an example of ſeverity towards ſo powerful a city as Thebes, ſpread the terror of his arms through all Greece, and made all things give way before him. He ſummoned, at Corinth, the * aſſembly of the ſeveral ſtates and free cities of Greece, to obtain from them the ſame ſupreme command againſt the Perſians, as had been granted his father a little before his death. No diet ever debated on a more important ſubject. It was the weſtern world deliberating upon the ruin of the eaſt, and the methods for executing a revenge ſuſpended more than an age. The aſſembly held at this time will give riſe to events, the relation of which will appear aſtoniſhing and almoſt incredible; and to revolutions, which will change the diſpoſition of moſt things in the world.

To form ſuch a deſign required a prince bold, enterpriſing, and experienced in war; one of great views, who having acquired a mighty name by his exploits, was not to be intimidated by dangers, nor checked by obſtacles; but above all, a monarch who had a ſupreme authority over all the ſtates of Greece, none of which ſingly was powerful enough to make ſo arduous an attempt; and which required, in order for their acting in concert, to be ſubject to one chief, who might give motion to the ſeveral parts of that great body, by making them all concur to the ſame end. Such a prince was Alexander. It was not difficult for him to rekindle in the minds of the people their ancient hatred of the Perſians, their perpetual and irreconcileable enemies; whoſe deſtruction they had more than once ſworn, and whom they had determined to extirpate, in caſe an opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf for that purpoſe; a hatred, which the inteſtine feuds of the Greeks might indeed have ſuſpended, but could never extinguiſh. The immortal retreat of the ten thouſand Greeks, notwithſtanding the vigorous oppoſition of the prodigious army of the Perſians; the terror which Ageſilaus, with a handful of men, had ſtruck even as far as Suſa; ſhowed plainly what might be expected from

* Plutarch places that diet or aſſembly here, but others fix it earlier; whence Dr. Prideaux ſuppoſed it was ſummoned twice.

an

an army, compoſed of the flower of the forces of all the cities of Greece, and thoſe of Macedon, commanded by generals and officers formed under Philip; and, to ſay all in a word, led by Alexander. The deliberations of the aſſembly were therefore very ſhort, and that prince was unanimouſly appointed generaliſſimo againſt the Perſians.

Immediately a great number of officers and governors of cities, with many philoſophers, waited upon Alexander, to congratulate him upon his election. He flattered himſelf, that Diogenes of Sinope, who was then at Corinth, would alſo come like the reſt, and pay his compliments. This philoſopher, who entertained a very mean idea of grandeur, thought it improper to congratulate men juſt upon their exaltation; but that mankind ought to wait till thoſe perſons have performed actions worthy of their high ſtations. Diogenes therefore did not ſtir out of his houſe; upon which Alexander, attended by all his courtiers, made him a viſit. The philoſopher was at that time lying down in the ſun; but ſeeing ſo great a crowd of people advancing towards him, he ſat up, and fixed his eyes on Alexander. This prince, ſurpriſed to ſee ſo famous a philoſopher reduced to ſuch extreme poverty, after ſaluting him in the kindeſt manner, aſked whether he wanted any thing? Diogenes replied, "Yes, that you would ſtand a little out of "my ſun-ſhine." This anſwer raiſed the contempt and indignation of all the courtiers; but the monarch, ſtruck with the philoſopher's greatneſs of ſoul, "Were I not Alexander," ſays he, "I would be Diogenes." A very profound ſenſe lies hid in this expreſſion, that ſhows perfectly the bent and diſpoſition of the heart of man. Alexander is ſenſible that he is formed to poſſeſs all things; ſuch is his deſtiny, in which he makes his happineſs to conſiſt: but then in caſe he ſhould not be able to compaſs his ends, he is alſo ſenſible, that to be happy, he muſt endeavour to bring his mind to ſuch a frame as to want nothing. In a word, all or nothing preſents us with the true image of Alexander and Diogenes. * How great and powerful ſoever that prince might think himſelf, he could not deny himſelf, on this occaſion, inferior to a man, to whom he could give, and from whom he could take nothing!

Alexander, before he ſet out for Aſia, was determined to conſult the oracle of Apollo. He therefore went to Delphos; he happened to arrive at it on thoſe days which are called Un-

*Homo ſupra menſuram humanæ ſuperbiæ tumens, vidit aliquem, cui nec dare quidquam poſſet, nec eripere. Senec. de benef. l. v. c. 6.

lucky, a ſeaſon in which people were forbid conſulting the oracle; and accordingly the prieſteſs refuſed to go to the temple. But Alexander, who could not bear any contradiction to his will, took her forcibly by the arm; and as he was leading her to the temple, ſhe cried out, "* My ſon, thou art irreſiſtible." This was all he deſired; and catching hold of theſe words, which he conſidered as ſpoke by the oracle, he ſet out for Macedonia, in order to make preparations for his great expedition.

NOTE WITH REGARD TO THE SEQUEL OF THIS HISTORY.

I could have wiſhed, and it was even my deſign, to prefix to the exploits of Alexander a geographical map, as I did to those of Cyrus the younger; this being of great aſſiſtance to the reader, and enables him to follow the hero in all his conqueſts. But it was not in my power to do this here, the map of Alexander's conqueſts being too large to be conveniently inſerted in a duodecimo. But to ſupply, in ſome meaſure, this defect, I ſhall here give, in one view, a ſhort account of thoſe countries through which Alexander paſſed, till his return from India.

Alexander ſets out from Macedonia, which is part of Turkey in Europe, and croſſes the Helleſpont, or the Straits of the Dardanelles.

He croſſes Aſia Minor (Natolia), where he fights two battles; the firſt at the paſs of the river Granicus, and the ſecond near the city of Iſſus.

After this ſecond battle, he enters Syria and Paleſtine; goes into Egypt, where he builds Alexandria, on one of the arms of the Nile; advances as far as Lybia, to the temple of Jupiter Ammon; whence he returns back, arrives at Tyre, and from thence marches towards the Euphrates.

He croſſes that river, then the Tigris, and gains the celebrated victory of Arbela; poſſeſſes himſelf of † Babylon, and Ecbatana, the chief city of Media.

From thence he paſſes into Hyrcania, to the ſea which goes by that name, otherwiſe called the Caſpian Sea; and enters Parthia, Drangiana, and the country of Paropamiſus.

He afterwards goes into Bactriana and Sogdiana; advances as far as the river Iaxarthes, called by Q. Curtius the Tanais, the farther ſide of which is inhabited by the Scythians, whoſe country forms part of Great Tartary.

* Ἀνίκητος εἶ ὦ παῖ.

† The capital of Babylonia.

Alexander,

Alexander, after having gone through various countries, croſſes the river Indus; enters India, which lies on this ſide the Ganges, and forms part of the Grand Mogul's empire, and advances very near the river Ganges, which he alſo intended to paſs, had not his army refuſed to follow him. He therefore contents himſelf with marching to view the ocean, and goes down the river Indus to its mouth.

From Macedonia to the Ganges, almoſt to which river Alexander marched, is computed at leaſt 1100 leagues.

Add to this the various turnings in Alexander's marches; firſt from the extremity of Cilicia, where the battle of Iſſus was fought, to the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Lybia; and his returning from thence to Tyre, a journey of 300 leagues at leaſt, and as much ſpace at leaſt for the windings of his route in different places; we ſhall find that Alexander, in leſs than eight years, marched his army upwards of 1700 leagues, without including his return to Babylon.

## SECTION III.

### ALEXANDER SETS OUT AGAINST THE PERSIANS.—OBTAINS A FAMOUS VICTORY AT THE RIVER GRANICUS.

Alexander being arrived in his kingdom*, held a council with the chief officers of his army, and the grandees of his court, on the expedition he meditated againſt Perſia, and the meaſures he ſhould take in order to ſucceed in it. The whole aſſembly was unanimous, except on one article. Antipater and Parmenio were of opinion, that the king, before he engaged in an enterpriſe which would neceſſarily be a long one, ought to make choice of a conſort, in order to ſecure himſelf a ſucceſſor to his throne. But Alexander, who was of a violent, fiery temper, did not approve of this advice; and believed, that after he had been nominated generaliſſimo of the Greeks, and that his father had left him an invincible army, it would be a ſhame for him to loſe his time in ſolemnizing his nuptials, and waiting for the fruits of it; for which reaſon he determined to ſet out immediately.

Accordingly he offered up very ſplendid ſacrifices to the gods, and cauſed to be celebrated at Dia, a city of Macedon, † ſcenical games, that had been inſtituted by one of his anceſ-

* A. M. 3670. Ant. J. C. 334. Diod. l. xvii. p. 499—503. Arrian. l. i. p. 23—36. Plut. in Alex. p. 672, 673. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 5, 6.

† Theatrical repreſentations were ſo called.

tors in honour of Jupiter and the Muſes. This feſtival continued nine days, agreeably to the number of thoſe goddeſſes. He had a tent raiſed large enough to hold 100 tables, on which conſequently 900 covers might be laid. To this feaſt, the ſeveral princes of his family, all the ambaſſadors, generals, and officers, were invited. * He alſo treated his whole army. It was then he had the famous viſion, in which he was exhorted to march ſpeedily into Aſia, of which mention will be made in the ſequel.

Before he ſet out upon this expedition, he ſettled the affairs of Macedon, over which he appointed Antipater as viceroy, with 12,000 foot, and near the ſame number of horſe.

He alſo inquired into the domeſtic affairs of his friends, giving to one an eſtate in land, to another a village, to a third the revenues of a town, to a fourth the toll of an harbour. And as all the revenues of his demeſnes were already employed and exhauſted by his donations, Perdiccas ſaid to him, "My lord, "what is it you reſerve for yourſelf?" Alexander replying "Hope:" Says Perdiccas, "The ſame hope ought therefore "to ſatisfy us;" and ſo refuſed very generouſly to accept of what the king had appointed him.

The knowledge of the human heart, and the art of governing it, is of great importance to a prince. Now Alexander was ſenſible, that this ſecret conſiſts in making it the intereſt of every individual to promote his grandeur; and to govern his ſubjects in ſuch a manner, that they may feel his power by no other marks than his bounty. It is then that the intereſt of every perſon unites with that of the prince. They are one's own poſſeſſions, one's own happineſs which we love in his perſon; and we are ſo many times attached to him, and by as cloſe ties, as there are things we love, and receive from him. All the ſequel of this hiſtory will ſhow, that no perſon ever made a more happy uſe of this maxim than Alexander, who thought himſelf raiſed to the throne, merely that he might do good; and indeed his liberality, which was truly royal, was neither ſatisfied nor exhauſted by the nobleſt acts of beneficence.

Alexander, after having completely ſettled his affairs in Macedon, and uſed all the precautions imaginable to prevent any troubles from ariſing in it during his abſence, ſet out for Aſia in the beginning of the ſpring. His army conſiſted of little more than 30,000 foot, and 4 or 5000 horſe; but then they were all brave men; were well diſciplined, and inured to

* Joſeph. Antiquit. lib. xi.

fatigues;

fatigues; had made several campaigns under Philip; and were each of them*, in case of necessity, capable of commanding. Most of the officers were near 60 years of age; and when they were either assembled †, or drawn up at the head of a camp, they had the air of a venerable senate. Parmenio commanded the infantry. Philotas, his son, had 1800 horse ‡ under him; and Callas, the son of Harpalus, the same number of Thessalian cavalry. The rest of the horse, who were composed of natives of the several states of Greece, and amounted to 600, had their particular commander. The Thracians and Pæonians, who were always in front, were headed by Cassander. Alexander began his route along the lake Cercinum towards Amphipolis; crossed the river Strymon, near its mouth; afterwards the Hebrus, and arrived at Sestos after 20 days march: He then commanded Parmenio to cross over from Sestos to Abydos, with all the horse and part of the foot: which he accordingly did by the assistance of 160 galleys, and several flat-bottomed vessels. As for Alexander, he went from Eleontum to the port of the Achaians, himself steering his own galley; and being got to the middle of the Hellespont, he sacrificed a bull to Neptune and the Nereids; and made effusions in the sea from a golden cup. It is also related, that after having thrown a javelin at the land, as thereby to take possession of it, he landed the first in Asia; and leaping from the ship, completely armed, and in the highest transports of joy, he erected altars on the shore to Jupiter, to Minerva, and to Hercules, for having favoured him with so propitious a descent. He had done the same at his leaving Europe.

He depended so entirely on the happy success of his arms, and the rich spoils he should find in Asia, that he had made very little provision for so great an expedition; persuaded that war, when carried on successfully, would supply all things necessary for war. He had but 70 § talents in money, to pay his army, and only a month's provision. I before observed, that he had divided his patrimony among his generals and officers; and a circumstance of great importance is, that he had inspired his soldiers with so much courage and security, that they fancied they marched, not to precarious war, but certain victory.

* Ut non tam milites, quam magistros militiæ electos putares. Justin. l. xi. c. 6.

† Ut, si principia castrorum cerneres, senatum te alicujus priscæ reip. videre diceres.

‡ These were all Macedonians. § 70,0000 crowns.

* Being arrived at the city of Lampſacus, which he was determined to deſtroy, in order to puniſh the rebellion of its inhabitants, Anaximenes, a native of that place, came to him. This man, who was a famous hiſtorian, had been very intimate with Philip his father; and Alexander himſelf had a great eſteem for him, having been his pupil. The king ſuſpecting the buſineſs he was come upon, to be beforehand with him, ſwore, in expreſs terms, that he would never grant his requeſt. "The favour I have to deſire of you," ſays Anaximenes, "is, that you would deſtroy Lampſacus." By this witty evaſion the hiſtorian ſaved his country.

From thence Alexander arrived at Ilion, where he paid great honours to the manes of Achilles, and cauſed games to be celebrated round his tomb. He admired and envied the double felicity of that renowned Grecian, in having found during his life-time, a faithful friend in Patrocles; and, after his death, a herald in Homer, worthy the greatneſs of his exploits. And indeed†, had it not been for the Iliad, the name of Achilles would have periſhed in the ſame grave with his body.

At laſt Alexander arrived on the banks of the Granicus, a river of Phrygia. The Satrapæ, or deputy-lieutenants, waited his coming on the other ſide of it, firmly reſolved to diſpute the paſſage with him. Their army conſiſted of‡ 100,000 foot, and upwards of 10,000 horſe. Memnon, who was a Rhodian, and commanded under Darius all the coaſt of Aſia, had adviſed the generals not to venture a battle; but to lay waſte the plains, and even the cities, thereby to ſtarve Alexander's army, and oblige him to return back into Europe. Memnon was the beſt of all Darius's generals, and had been the principal agent in his victories. It is not eaſy to determine what we ought to admire moſt in him; whether his great wiſdom in council, his courage and capacity in the field, or his zeal and attachment to his ſovereign. The counſel he gave on this occaſion was excellent, when we conſider that his enemy was fiery and im-

* Val. Max. l. vii. c. 3.

† Cum in Sigæo ad Achillis tumulum conſtitiſſet: O fortunate, inquit, adoleſcens, qui tuæ virtutis Homerum præconem inveneris! Et vere. Nam, niſi Ilias illa extitiſſet, idem tumulus, qui corpus ejus contexerat, etiam nomen obruiſſet. Cic. pro. Arch. n. 24.

‡ According to Juſtin, their army conſiſted of 600,000 foot, whereas Arrian declares there were no more than 20,000. Both theſe accounts are improbable, and there is doubtleſs ſome fault in the text, and therefore I follow Diodorus Siculus.

petuous;

petuous; had neither town, magazine, or place of retreat; that he was entering a country to which he was abſolutely a ſtranger, inhabited by enemies; that delays alone would weaken and ruin him; and that his only hopes lay in giving battle immediately. But Arſites, a Phrygian ſatrap, oppoſed the opinion of Memnon, and proteſted he would never ſuffer the Grecians to make ſuch havoc in the territories he governed. This ill counſel prevailed over that of the foreigner, Memnon, whom the Perſians, to their great prejudice, ſuſpected of a deſign to protract the war, and by that means make himſelf neceſſary to Darius.

Alexander, in the mean time, marched on at the head of his heavy-armed infantry drawn up in two lines, with the cavalry in the wings: the baggage followed in the rear. Being arrived upon the banks of the Granicus, Parmenio adviſed him to encamp there in battle-array, in order that his forces might have time to reſt themſelves; and not to paſs the river till very early next morning, becauſe the enemy would then be leſs able to prevent him. He added that it would be too dangerous to attempt croſſing a river in ſight of an enemy, eſpecially as that before them was deep, and its banks very craggy; ſo that the Perſian cavalry, who waited their coming in battle-array, on the other ſide, might eaſily defeat them before they were drawn up. That, beſides the loſs which would be ſuſtained on this occaſion, this enterpriſe, in caſe it ſhould prove unſucceſsful, would be of dangerous conſequence to their future affairs; the fame and glory of arms depending on the firſt actions.

However, theſe reaſons were not able to make the leaſt impreſſion on Alexander, who declared, that it would be a ſhame, ſhould he, after croſſing the Helleſpont, ſuffer his progreſs to be retarded by a rivulet, for ſo he called the Granicus out of contempt: that they ought to take advantage of the terror which the ſuddenneſs of his arrival, and the boldneſs of his attempt, had ſpread amongſt the Perſians; and anſwer the high opinion the world conceived of his courage, and the valour of the Macedonians. The enemy's horſe, which was very numerous, lined the whole ſhore, and formed a large front, in order to oppoſe Alexander, wherever he ſhould endeavour to paſs; and the foot, which conſiſted chiefly of Greeks, in Darius's ſervice, was poſted behind, upon an eaſy aſcent.

The two armies continued a long time in ſight of each other, on the banks of the river, as if dreading the event. The Perſians waited till the Macedonians ſhould enter the river, in order to charge them to advantage upon their landing; and the latter

ter ſeemed to be making choice of a place proper for croſſing, and to ſurvey the countenance of their enemies. Upon this, Alexander having ordered his horſe to be brought, commanded the noblemen of the court to follow him, and behave gallantly. He himſelf commanded the right wing, and Parmenio the left. The king firſt cauſed a ſtrong detachment to march into the river, himſelf following it with the reſt of the forces. He made Parmenio advance afterwards with the left wing. He himſelf led on the right wing into the river, followed by the reſt of the troops; the trumpets ſounding, and the whole army raiſing cries of joy.

The Perſians, ſeeing this detachment advance forward, began to let fly their arrows, and march to a place where the declivity was not ſo great, in order to keep the Macedonians from landing. But now the horſe engaged with great fury; one part endeavouring to land, and the other ſtriving to prevent them. The Macedonians, whoſe cavalry was vaſtly inferior in number, beſides the diſadvantage of their ground, were wounded with the darts that were ſhot from the eminence; not to mention that the flower of the Perſian horſe were drawn together in this place; and that Memnon, in concert with his ſons, commanded there. The Macedonians therefore at firſt gave ground, after having loſt the firſt ranks, which made a vigorous defence. Alexander, who had followed them cloſe, and reinforced them with his beſt troops, heads them himſelf, animates them by his preſence, puſhes the Perſians, and routs them; upon which the whole army follow after, croſs the river, and attack the enemy on all ſides.

Alexander firſt charged the thickeſt part of the enemy's horſe, in which the generals fought. He himſelf was particularly conſpicuous by his ſhield, and the plume of feathers that overſhadowed his helmet, on the two ſides of which there roſe two wings, as it were, of a great length, and ſo vaſtly white, that they dazzled the eyes of the beholder. The charge was very furious about his perſon; and though only horſe engaged, they fought like foot, man to man, without giving way on either ſide; every one ſtriving to repulſe his adverſary, and gain ground of him. Spithrobates, lieutenant-governor of Ionia, and ſon-in-law to Darius, diſtinguiſhed himſelf above the reſt of the generals by his ſuperior bravery. Being ſurrounded by forty Perſian lords, all of them his relations, of experienced valour, and who never moved from his ſide, he carried terror wherever he moved. Alexander, obſerving in how gallant a manner he ſignalized himſelf, clapped ſpurs to his horſe,

horſe, and advanced towards him. Immediately they engage, and each having thrown a javelin, wounded the other ſlightly. Spithrobates falls furiouſly ſword in hand upon Alexander, who, being prepared for him, thruſts his pike into his face, and laid him dead at his feet. At that very moment, Roſaces, brother to that nobleman, charging him on the ſide, gives him ſo furious a blow on the head with his battle-ax, that he beat off his plume, but went no deeper than the hair. As he was going to repeat his blow on the head, which now appeared through his fractured helmet, Clitus cuts off Roſaces's hand with one ſtroke of his ſcimitar, and by that means ſaved his ſovereign's life. The danger to which Alexander had been expoſed greatly animated the courage of his ſoldiers, who now perform wonders. The Perſians in the centre of the horſe, upon whom the light-armed troops, who had been poſted in the intervals of the horſe, poured a perpetual diſcharge of darts, being unable to ſuſtain any longer the attack of the Macedonians, who ſtruck them all in the face, the two wings were immediately broke and put to flight. Alexander did not purſue them long, but turned about immediately to charge the foot.

Theſe, ſays the hiſtorian, at firſt ſtood their ground, which was owing to the ſurpriſe they were ſeized with, rather than bravery. But when they ſaw themſelves attacked at the ſame time by the cavalry, and the Macedonian phalanx, which had croſſed the river, and that the battalions were now engaged, thoſe of the Perſians did not make either a long or a vigorous reſiſtance, and were ſoon put to flight, the Grecian infantry in Darius's ſervice excepted. This body of foot retiring to a hill, demanded a promiſe from Alexander to let them march away unmoleſted; but following the dictates of his wrath, rather than thoſe of reaſon, he ruſhed into the midſt of this body of foot, and preſently loſt his horſe (not Bucephalus), who was killed with the thruſt of a ſword. The battle was ſo hot round him, that moſt of the Macedonians, who loſt their lives on this occaſion, fell here; for they fought againſt a body of men who were well diſciplined, had been inured to war, and fought in deſpair. They were all cut to pieces, 2000 excepted, who were taken priſoners.

A great number of the chief Perſian commanders lay dead on the ſpot. Arſites fled into Phrygia, where it is ſaid he laid violent hands upon himſelf, for having been the cauſe that the battle was fought. It would have been more glorious for him, had he died in the field. 20,000 foot, and 2500 horſe,

were.

were killed in this engagement, on the ſide of the Barbarians; and of the Macedonians, 25 of the royal horſe were killed at the firſt attack. Alexander ordered Lyſippus to make their ſtatues in braſs, all which were ſet up in a city of Macedon called Dia, in honour of them, from whence they were many years after carried to Rome by Q. Metellus. About 60 of the other horſe were killed; and near 30 foot, who, the next day, were all laid, with their arms and equipage, in one grave; and the king granted an exemption to their fathers and children from every kind of tribute and ſervice.

He alſo took the utmoſt care of the wounded, viſited them, and ſaw their wounds dreſſed. He inquired very particularly into their adventures, and permitted every one of them to relate his actions in the battle, and boaſt his bravery. A prince gains many advantages by ſuch a familiarity and condeſcenſion. He alſo granted the rites of ſepulture to the grandees of Perſia, and did not even refuſe it to ſuch Greeks as died in the Perſian ſervice; but all thoſe whom he took priſoners he laid in chains, and ſent them to work as ſlaves in Macedonia, for having fought under the Barbarian ſtandards againſt their country, contrary to the expreſs prohibition made by Greece upon that head.

Alexander made it his duty and pleaſure to ſhare the honour of his victory with the Greeks; and ſent particularly to the Athenians 300 ſhields, being part of the plunder taken from the enemy; and cauſed the glorious inſcription following to be inſcribed on the reſt of the ſpoils: "Alexander ſon of Phi-"lip, with the Greeks, the Lacedæmonians excepted, gained "theſe ſpoils from the Barbarians who inhabit Aſia." A conduct of this kind argues a very uncommon and amiable greatneſs of ſoul in a conqueror, who generally cannot, without great reluctance, admit others to ſhare in his glory. The greateſt part of the gold and ſilver plate, the purple carpets, and other furniture of the Perſian luxury, he ſent to his mother.

## SECTION IV.

### ALEXANDER CONQUERS THE GREATEST PART OF ASIA MINOR.—DESCRIPTION OF DARIUS'S MARCH.

THE ſucceſs of the battle of the Granicus had all the happy conſequences that could naturally be expected from it*. Sardis,

* A. M. 3671. Ant. J. C. 333. Diod. l. xvii. p. 503—511. Arrian. l. i. p. 36—59. et l. ii p. 60—66. Plut. in Alex. p. 673, 674. Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 1—3. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 7, 8. Strab. l. xiv. p. 640. Solin. c. xl.

which

which was in a manner the bulwark of the Barbarian empire on the ſide next the ſea, ſurrendered to Alexander, who thereupon gave the citizens their liberty, and permitted them to live after their own laws. Four days after he arrived at Epheſus, carrying with him thoſe who had been baniſhed from thence for being his adherents, and reſtored its popular form of government. He aſſigned to the temple of Diana the tributes which were paid to the kings of Perſia. He offered a great number of ſacrifices to that goddeſs, ſolemnized her myſteries with the utmoſt pomp, and conducted the ceremony with his whole army drawn up in battle array. The Epheſians had begun to rebuild the temple of Diana, which had been burned the night of Alexander's birth, as was before obſerved, and the work was now very forward. Dinocrates, a famous architect, who ſuperintended this edifice, was employed by this king to build Alexandria in Egypt. Alexander offered to pay the Epheſians all the expences they had already been at, and to furniſh the remainder, provided they would inſcribe the temple only with his name; for he was fond, or rather inſatiable, of every kind of glory. The inhabitants of Epheſus not being willing to conſent to it, and however afraid to refuſe him that honour openly, had recourſe to an artful flattery for an evaſion. They told him, that it was inconſiſtent for one god to erect monuments to another. Before he left Epheſus, the deputies of the cities of Trallis and Magneſia waited upon him with the keys of thoſe places.

He afterwards marched to Miletus, which city, flattered with the hopes of a ſudden and powerful ſupport, ſhut their gates againſt him: and indeed the Perſian fleet, which was very conſiderable, made a ſhow as if it would ſuccour that city; but after having made ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to engage that of the enemy, it was forced to ſail away. Memnon had ſhut himſelf up in this fortreſs, with a great number of his ſoldiers, who had eſcaped from the battle, and was determined to make a good defence. Alexander, who would not loſe a moment's time, attacked it, and planted ſcaling-ladders on all ſides. The ſcalade was carried on with great vigour, and oppoſed with no leſs intrepidity, though Alexander ſent freſh troops to relieve one another without the leaſt intermiſſion; and this laſted ſeveral days. At laſt, finding his ſoldiers were every-where repulſed, and that the city was provided with every thing for a long ſiege, he planted all his machines againſt it, made a great number of breaches, and whenever theſe were attacked, a new ſcalade was attempted. The beſieged, after

ſuſtaining

ſuſtaining all theſe efforts with prodigious bravery, capitulated, for fear of being taken by ſtorm. Alexander treated all the Mileſians with the utmoſt humanity, and ſold all the foreigners who were found in it. The hiſtorians do not make any mention of Memnon, but we may reaſonably ſuppoſe that he marched out with the garriſon.

*Alexander, ſeeing that the enemy's fleet had ſailed away, reſolved to lay up his own, the expence of it being too great, not to mention that he wanted money for things of greater importance. Some hiſtorians are even of opinion, that as he was upon the point of coming to a battle with Darius, which was to determine the fate of the two empires, he was reſolved to deprive his ſoldiers of all hopes of retreat, and to leave them no other reſource than that of victory. He therefore retained ſuch veſſels only of his fleet, as were abſolutely neceſſary for tranſporting the military engines, and a ſmall number of other galleys.

After poſſeſſing himſelf of Miletus, he marched into Caria, in order to lay ſiege to Halicarnaſſus. This city was of prodigious difficult acceſs from its happy ſituation, and had been ſtrongly fortified. Beſides, Memnon, the ableſt as well as the moſt valiant of all Darius's commanders, had got into it with a body of choice ſoldiers, with deſign to ſignalize his courage, and fidelity for his ſovereign. He accordingly made a very able defence, in which he was ſeconded by Ephialtes, another general of great merit. Whatever could be expected from the moſt intrepid bravery, and the moſt conſummate knowledge in the ſcience of war, was conſpicuous on both ſides on this occaſion. After the beſiegers had, with incredible labour, filled up part of the ditches, and brought their engines near the walls, they had the grief to ſee their works demoliſhed in an inſtant, and their engines ſet on fire, by the frequent vigorous ſallies of the beſieged. After beating down part of a wall with their battering-rams, they were aſtoniſhed to ſee a new one behind it; which was ſo ſudden, that it ſeemed to riſe out of the ground. The attack of theſe walls, which were built in a ſemicircular form, deſtroyed a prodigious number of men; becauſe the beſieged, from the top of the towers that were raiſed on the ſeveral ſides, took the enemy in flank. It was evidently ſeen at this ſiege, that the ſtrongeſt fortifications of a city are the valour and courage of its defenders. The ſiege was held out ſo long, and attended with ſuch ſurpriſing difficulties, as

* A. M. 3671. Ant. J. C. 333.

would

would have discouraged any warrior but an Alexander; yet his troops were animated by the view of dangers, and their patience was at last successful. Memnon, finding it impossible for him to hold out any longer, was forced to abandon the city. As the sea was open to him, after having put a strong garrison into the citadel, which was well stored with provisions, he took with him the surviving inhabitants, with all their riches, and conveyed them into the island of Cos, which was not far from Halicarnassus. Alexander did not think proper to besiege the citadel, it being of little importance after the city was destroyed, which he demolished to the very foundations. He left it, after having encompassed it with strong walls, and left some good troops in the country.

After the death of Artemisia, queen of Caria, Idrieus her brother reigned in her stead. The sceptre devolved upon Ada, sister and wife of Idrieus, according to the custom of the country; but she was dethroned by Pexodorus, to whom succeeded, by Darius's command, Orontobates his son-in-law. Ada, however, was still possessed of a fortress called Alinda, the keys of which she had carried to Alexander, the instant she heard of his arrival in Caria, and had adopted him for her son. The king was so far from contemning this honour, that he left her the quiet possession of her own city; and, after having taken Halicarnassus, as he by that means was master of the whole country, he restored the government of it to Ada.

* This lady, as a testimony of the deep sense she had of the favours received from Alexander, sent him every day meats dressed in the most exquisite manner; delicious pies of all sorts, and the most excellent cooks of every kind. Alexander answered the queen on this occasion, "That all this train was "of no service to him, for that he was possessed of much bet-"ter cooks, whom Leonidas his governor had given him; "one of whom prepared him a good dinner, and that was by "walking a great deal in the morning very early; and the "other prepared him an excellent supper, and that was dining "very moderately."

Several kings of Asia Minor submitted voluntarily to Alexander. Mithridates, king of Pontus, was one of these, who afterwards adhered to this prince, and followed him in his expeditions. He was son to Ariobarzanes, governor of Phrygia, and king of Pontus, of whom mention has been made elsewhere. †He is computed to be the 16th king from Artaba-

* Plut. in Alex. p. 67. † Florus, l. iii. c. 5.

zus, who is conſidered as the founder of that kingdom, of which he was put in poſſeſſion by Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes his father. The famous Mithridates, who ſo long employed the Roman armies, was one of his ſucceſſors.

Alexander, before he went into winter-quarters, permitted all ſuch of his ſoldiers as had married that year, to return into Macedonia, there to ſpend the winter with their wives, upon condition that they would return in the ſpring. He appointed three officers to march them thither and back again. This agrees exactly with the law of * Moſes; and, as we do not find that this law or cuſtom was uſed by any other nation, it is very probable that Ariſtotle had learned it from ſome Jew with whom he became acquainted in Aſia; and that approving it as a very wiſe and juſt cuſtom, he therefore had recommended it to his pupil, who remembered it on this occaſion.

The next year Alexander began the campaign very early. He had debated, whether it would be proper for him to march directly againſt Darius, or ſhould firſt ſubdue the reſt of the maritime provinces. The latter opinion appeared the ſafeſt, ſince he thereby would not be moleſted by ſuch nations as he ſhould leave behind him. † His progreſs was a little interrupted at firſt. Near Phaſelis, a city ſituated between Lycia and Pamphylia, is a defile along the ſea-ſhore, which is always dry at low water, ſo that travellers may paſs it at that time; but when the ſea riſes, it is all under water. As it was now winter, Alexander, whom nothing could daunt, was deſirous of paſſing it before the waters fell. His forces were therefore obliged to march a whole day in the water, which came up to their waiſt. Some hiſtorians, purely to embelliſh this incident, relate that the ſea, by the divine command, had ſubmitted ſpontaneouſly to Alexander, and had opened a way to him, contrary to the uſual courſe of nature; among theſe writers is Quintus Curtius. It is ſurpriſing that Joſephus the hiſtorian, to weaken the authority of the miracle of the Jews paſſing through the Red Sea as on dry land, ſhould have cited this circumſtance by way of example, the falſity of which Alexander himſelf had refuted; for Plutarch relates, that he had wrote only as follows in one of his letters, "That when he left "the city of Phaſelis, he marched on foot through the paſs of "the mountain called Climax." And it is very well known that this prince, who was vaſtly fond of the marvellous, never let ſlip any opportunity of perſuading the people, that the gods protected him in a very ſingular manner.

* Deut. xxiv. 5. † Strab. l. xiv. p. 666.

During

During his being in the neighbourhood of Phaſelis, he diſcovered a conſpiracy which was carrying on by Alexander, ſon of Eropus, whom he had a little before appointed general of the Theſſalian cavalry, in the room of Calas, whom he had made governor of a province. Darius, upon the receipt of a letter which this traitor had ſent him, promiſed him a reward of 1000 * talents of gold, with the kingdom of Macedonia, in caſe he could murder Alexander; believing this was not paying too dear for a crime, which would rid him of ſo formidable an enemy. The meſſenger who carried the king's anſwer being ſeized, made a full confeſſion, by which means the traitor was brought to condign puniſhment.

Alexander, after having ſettled affairs in Cilicia and Pamphylia, marched his army to Celænæ, a city of Phrygia, watered by the river Marſyas, which the fictions of poets have made ſo famous. He ſummoned the garriſon of the citadel, whither the inhabitants were retired, to ſurrender; but theſe, believing it impregnable, anſwered haughtily, that they would firſt die. However, finding the attack carried on with great vigour, they deſired a truce of 60 days, at the expiration of which they promiſed to open their gates, in caſe they were not ſuccoured. And accordingly, no aid arriving, they ſurrendered themſelves upon the day fixed.

From thence the king marched into Phrygia, the capital of which was called Gordion, the ancient and famous reſidence of king Midas, ſituated on the river Sangarius. Having taken the city, he was deſirous of ſeeing the famous chariot to which the Gordion knot was tied. This knot, which faſtened the yoke to the beam, was tied with ſo much art, and the ſtrings were twiſted in ſo wonderful a manner, that it was impoſſible to diſcover where it began or ended. According to an ancient tradition of the country, an oracle had foretold, that the man who could untie it ſhould poſſeſs the empire of Aſia. Now Alexander was firmly perſuaded that this promiſe related to himſelf. After many fruitleſs trials, he cried, "It is no matter "which way it be untied," and thereupon cut it with his ſword, and by that means, ſays the hiſtorian, either eluded or fulfilled the oracle†.

In the mean time Darius was ſetting every engine at work, in order to make a vigorous defence. Memnon, the Rhodian,

* About L.1,500,000 ſterling.

† Sortem oraculi vel eluſit, vel implevit. Quint. Curt.

adviſed him to carry the war into Macedonia, which counſel ſeemed the moſt proper, to extricate him from preſent danger; for the Lacedæmonians, and ſeveral other Greek nations, who had no affection for the Macedonians, would have been ready to join him; by which means Alexander muſt have been forced to leave Aſia, and return ſuddenly over-ſea, to defend his own country. Darius approved this counſel, and, having determined to follow it, charged Memnon to put it in execution. Accordingly, he was declared admiral of the fleet, and captain-general of all the forces deſigned for that expedition.

That prince could not poſſibly have made a better choice. Memnon was the ableſt general in his ſervice, and had fought a great many years under the Perſian ſtandards with the utmoſt fidelity. Had his advice been taken, the battle of the Granicus had not been fought. He did not abandon his maſter's intereſts after that misfortune, but had aſſembled the ſcattered remains of the army, and immediately went firſt to Miletos, from thence to Halicarnaſſus, and laſtly into the iſland of Cos, where he was when he received his new commiſſion. This place was the rendezvous of the fleet; and Memnon was now meditating wholly upon the manner how to put his deſign in execution. He made himſelf maſter of the iſland of Chios, and all Leſbos, the city of Mitylene excepted. From thence he was preparing to paſs over into Eubœa, and to make Greece and Macedonia the ſeat of the war, but died before Mitylene, which city he had been forced to beſiege. His death was the greateſt misfortune that could poſſibly have happened to Perſia. We ſee on this occaſion the ineſtimable worth of a man of merit, whoſe death is ſometimes the ruin of a ſtate. The loſs of Memnon fruſtrated the execution of the plan he had formed; for Darius, not having one general in his army who was able to ſupply Memnon's place, abandoned entirely the only enterpriſe which could have ſaved his empire. His whole refuge therefore now lay in the armies of the eaſt. Darius, diſſatisfied with all his generals, reſolved to command in perſon, and appointed Babylon for the rendezvous of his army; where, upon being muſtered, they were found to be about 4, 5, or 600,000 men, for hiſtorians differ very much on this head.

Alexander having left Gordion, marched into Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, which he ſubdued. It was there he heard of Memnon's death, the news whereof confirmed him in the reſolution he had taken of marching immediately into the provinces of

of Upper Asia. Accordingly he advanced by hasty marches into Cilicia, and arrived in the country called * Cyrus's Camp. From thence there is no more than 50 stadia (two leagues and a half each) to the pass of Cilicia, which is a very narrow strait, through which travellers are obliged to go from Cappadocia to Tarsus. The officer, who guarded it in Darius's name, had left but few soldiers in it, and those fled the instant they heard of the enemy's arrival. Upon this Alexander entered the pass, and, after viewing very attentively the situation of the place, he admired his own good fortune; and confessed, that he might have been very easily stopped and defeated there, merely by the throwing of stones: for, not to mention that this pass was so narrow, that four men completely armed could scarcely walk a-breast in it; the top of the mountain hung over the road, which was not only strait, but broke in several places, by the fall of torrents from the mountains.

Alexander marched his whole army to the city of Tarsus, where it arrived the instant the Persians were setting fire to that place, to prevent his plundering the great riches of so flourishing a city. But Parmenio, whom the king had sent thither with a detachment of horse, arrived very seasonably to stop the progress of the fire, and marched into the city, which he saved; the Barbarians having fled the moment they heard of his arrival.

Through this city the Cydnus runs, a river not so remarkable for the breadth of its channel, as for the beauty of its waters, which are vastly limpid, but at the same time excessively cold, because of the tufted trees with which its banks are overshadowed. It was now about the end of summer, which is excessively hot in Cilicia, and in the hottest part of the day, when the king, who was quite covered with sweat and dirt, arriving on its banks, had a mind to bathe in that river, invited by the beauty and clearness of the stream. However, the instant he plunged into it, he was seized with so violent a shivering, that all the standers-by fancied he was dying. Upon this, he was carried to his tent, after fainting away. The news of this sad disaster threw the whole army into the utmost consternation. They all burst into tears, and breathed their plaints in the following words: "The greatest prince "that ever lived is torn from us in the midst of his prosperi-

* Quintus Curtius supposes it to be so called from Cyrus the Great, and Arrian from the younger Cyrus, which opinion appears the most probable.

" ties and conqueſts; not in a battle, or at the ſtorming of a " city; but dies by his bathing in a river. Darius, who is " coming up with us, will conquer before he has ſeen his ene- " my. We ſhall be forced to retire like ſo many fugitives, " through thoſe very countries which we entered with triumph. " As the places through which we muſt paſs are either de- " ſert or depopulated, hunger only, ſhould we meet no other " enemy, will itſelf deſtroy us. But who ſhall guide us in " our flight, or dare to ſet himſelf up in Alexander's ſtead? " And ſhould we be ſo happy as to arrive at the Helleſpont, " how ſhall we furniſh ourſelves with veſſels to croſs it?" After this, directing their whole thoughts to the prince, and forgetting themſelves, they cried aloud: " Alas! how ſad is it " that he, who was our king, and the companion of our toils; " a king in the flower of his youth, and in the courſe of his " greateſt proſperities, ſhould be taken off, and in a manner " torn from our arms!"

At laſt the king recovered his ſenſes by degrees, and began to know the perſons who ſtood round him; though the only ſymptoms he gave of his recovery was, his being ſenſible of his illneſs. But he was more indiſpoſed in mind than in body, for news was brought that Darius might ſoon arrive. Alexander bewailed perpetually his hard fate, in being thus expoſed naked and defenceleſs to his enemy, and robbed of ſo noble a victory, ſince he was now reduced to the melancholy condition of dying obſcurely in his tent, and far from having attained the glory he had promiſed himſelf. Having ordered his confidents and phyſicians to come into his tent, " You ſee," ſaid he, " my friends, the ſad extremity to which fortune reduces " me. Methinks I already hear the ſound of the enemy's " arms, and ſee Darius advancing. He undoubtedly held in- " telligence with my evil genius *, when he wrote letters to " his lieutenants in ſo lofty and contemptuous a ſtrain; how- " ever, he ſhall not obtain his deſire, provided ſuch a cure as " I want is attempted. The preſent condition of my affairs " will not admit either of ſlow remedies or fearful phyſicians. " A ſpeedy death is more eligible to me than a ſlow cure. In " caſe the phyſicians think it is in their power to do me any " good, they are to know, that I do not ſo much wiſh to live " as to fight."

* Darius, who imagined himſelf ſure of overcoming Alexander, had writ to his lieutenants, that they ſhould chaſtiſe this young fool; and after clothing him in purple out of deriſion, ſhould ſend him bound hand and foot to the court. Frienſheim in Quint. Curt.

This

This ſudden impatience of the king ſpread an univerſal alarm. The phyſicians, who were ſenſible they ſhould be anſwerable for the event, did not dare to hazard violent and extraordinary remedies; eſpecially as Darius had publiſhed, that he would reward with 1000 talents * the man who ſhould kill Alexander. However Philip, an Acarnanian, one of his phyſicians, who had always attended upon him from his youth, loved him with the utmoſt tenderneſs, not only as his ſovereign, but his child, raiſing himſelf, merely out of affection to Alexander, above all prudential conſiderations, offered to give him a doſe, which, though not very violent, would nevertheleſs be ſpeedy in its effects; and he deſired three days to prepare it. At this propoſal every one trembled, but him only whom it moſt concerned; Alexander being afflicted upon no other account than becauſe it would keep him three days from appearing at the head of his army.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, Alexander received a letter from Parmenio, who was left behind in Cappadocia, in whom Alexander put greater confidence than in any other of his courtiers; the purport of which was, to bid him beware of Philip, for that Darius had bribed him, by the promiſe of 1000 talents, and his ſiſter in marriage. This † letter gave him great uneaſineſs, for he was now at full leiſure to weigh all the reaſons he might have to hope or to fear. But the confidence in a phyſician, whoſe ſincere attachment and fidelity he had proved from his infancy, ſoon prevailed, and removed all his doubts. Upon this he folded up the letter, and put it under his bolſter, without acquainting any one with the contents of it.

The day being come, Philip enters the tent with his medicine, when Alexander taking the letter from under the bolſter, gives it to Philip to read. At the ſame time he takes the cup, and, fixing his eyes on the phyſician, ſwallows the draught without the leaſt heſitation, or without diſcovering the leaſt ſuſpicion or uneaſineſs. Philip, as he peruſed the letter, had ſhowed greater ſigns of indignation than of fear or ſurpriſe; and throwing himſelf upon the king's bed—"Royal "Sir," ſaid he, with a reſolute tone of voice, "your recovery "will ſoon clear me of the guilt of parricide with which I am "charged. The only favour I beg is, that you would be "eaſy in your own mind, and ſuffer the draught to operate,

* About L.145,000 Sterling.

† Ingentem animo ſolicitudinem literæ incuſſerant; et quicquid in utramque partem aut metus aut ſpes ſubjecerat, ſecreta æſtimatione penſabat. Q. Curt.

"and

" and not regard the intelligence you have received from ſer-
" vants, who indeed have ſhown their zeal for your welfare;
" which zeal, however, is very indiſcreet and unſeaſonable."
Theſe words did not only revive the king, but filled him with hope and joy; ſo taking Philip by the hand, " Be you your-
" ſelf eaſy," ſays he to him, " for I believe you are diſquieted
" upon a double account: firſt for my recovery, and ſecondly
" for your own juſtification."

In the mean time the phyſic worked ſo violently, that the accidents which attended it ſtrengthened Parmenio's accuſation; for the king loſt his ſpeech, and was ſeized with ſuch ſtrong fainting fits, that he had hardly any pulſe left, or the leaſt ſymptoms of life. Philip employed all the powers of phyſic to recover him, and in every lucid interval diverted him with agreeable ſubjects; diſcourſing one moment about his mother and his ſiſters, and another, about the mighty victory which was advancing, with haſty ſteps, to crown his paſt triumphs. At laſt the phyſician's art having gained the aſcendant, and diffuſed through every vein a ſalutary and vivific virtue, his mind firſt began to reſume its former vigour, and afterwards his body, much ſooner than had been expected. Three days after, he ſhowed himſelf to the army, who were never ſatisfied with gazing on him, and could ſcarce believe their eyes; ſo much the greatneſs of the danger had ſurpriſed and dejected them. No careſſes were enough for the phyſician; every one embracing him with the utmoſt tenderneſs, and returning him thanks as to a god who had ſaved the life of their ſovereign.

Beſides the reſpect which theſe people had naturally for their kings, words can never expreſs how greatly they admired this monarch more than any other, and the ſtrong affection they bore him. They were perſuaded, that he did not undertake any thing but by the immediate aſſiſtance of the gods; and as ſucceſs always attended his deſigns, his raſhneſs became glorious in him, and ſeemed to have ſomething inexpreſſibly divine in it. His youth, which one would have concluded incapable of ſuch mighty enterpriſes, and which however overcame all difficulties, gave a freſh merit and a brighter luſtre to his actions. * Beſides, certain advantages that generally are little regarded, and which yet engage in a wonderful manner the hearts of the ſoldiery, greatly augmented the merit of

* Quæ leviora haberi ſolent, plerumque in re militari gratiora vulgo ſunt. Q. Curt.

Alexander's

Alexander; such as his taking delight in bodily exercises; his discovering a skill and excellency in them; his going clothed like the common soldiers, and knowing how to familiarize himself with inferiors, without lessening his dignity; his sharing in toils and dangers with the most laborious and intrepid; qualities which, whether Alexander owed them to nature, or had acquired them by reflection, made him equally beloved and respected by his soldiers.

During this interval, Darius was on his march, full of a vain security in the infinite number of his troops, and forming a judgment of the two armies merely from their disparity in that point. The plains of Assyria, in which he was encamped, gave him an opportunity of extending his horse as he pleased, and of taking the advantage which the great difference between the number of soldiers in each army gave him; but instead of this, he resolves to march to narrow passes, where his cavalry and the multitude of his troops, so far from doing him any service, would only encumber one another; and accordingly he advances towards the enemy, for whom he should have waited, and runs visibly to his own destruction. Nevertheless, the grandees of his court, whose custom it was to flatter and applaud his every action, congratulated him beforehand on the victory he would soon obtain, as if it had been certain and inevitable. There was at that time, in the army of Darius, one Caridemus an Athenian, a man of great experience in war, who personally hated Alexander, for having caused him to be banished from Athens. Darius, turning to this Athenian, asked whether he believed him powerful enough to defeat his enemy. Caridemus, who had been brought up in the bosom of liberty, and forgetting that he was in a country of slavery, where to oppose the inclination of a prince is of the most dangerous consequence, replied as follows: "Possibly, Sir, you may not be pleased with my telling "you the truth; but in case I do not do it now, it will be "too late hereafter. This mighty parade of war, this prodi- "gious number of men which has drained all the East, might "indeed be formidable to your neighbours. Gold and purple "shine in every part of your army, which is so prodigiously "splendid, that those who have not seen it, could never form "an idea of its magnificence. But the soldiers who compose "the Macedonian army, terrible to behold, and bristling in "every part with arms, do not amuse themselves with such "idle show. Their only care is to discipline, in a regular man- "ner, their battalions, and to cover themselves close with their

"bucklers

" bucklers and pikes. Their phalanx is a body of infantry, " which engages without flinching, and keeps so close in their " ranks, that the soldiers and their arms form a kind of impe- " netrable work. In a word, every single man among them, " the officers as well as soldiers, are so well trained up, so at- " tentive to the command of their leaders, that, whether they " are to assemble under their standards, to turn to the right " or left, to double their ranks, and face about to the enemy " on all sides, at the least signal they make every motion and " evolution of the art of war. But that you may be persuad- " ed these Macedonians are not invited hither * from the " hopes of gaining gold and silver, know, that this excellent " discipline has subsisted hitherto by the sole aid and precepts " of poverty. Are they hungry? they satisfy their appetite " with any kind of food. Are they weary? they repose them- " selves on the bare ground, and in the day-time are always " upon their feet. Do you fancy that the Thessalian cavalry, " and that of Acarnania and Ætolia, who all are armed cap- " a-pee, are to be repulsed by stones hurled from slings, and " with sticks burned at the end? Such troops as are like them- " selves will be able to check their career; and succours must " be procured from their country, to oppose their bravery and " experience. Send therefore thither all the useless gold and " silver which I see here, and purchase formidable soldiers." +Darius was naturally of a mild, tractable disposition; but good fortune will corrupt the most happy temper. Few monarchs are resolute and courageous enough to withstand their own power, to repulse the flattery of the many people who are perpetually fomenting their passions, and to esteem a man who loves them so well, to contradict and displease them, in telling them the genuine truth. But Darius, not having strength of mind sufficient for this, gives orders for dragging to execution a man who had fled to him for protection, was at that time his guest, and gave him at that time the best counsel that could have been proposed to him. However, as this cruel treatment could not silence Caridemus, he cried aloud, with his usual freedom: " My avenger is at hand, the very man in op- ' position to whom I gave you counsel, and he will soon pu- " nish you for despising it. As for you, Darius, in whom " sovereign power has wrought so sudden a change, you will

* Et, ne auri argentique studio teneri putes, adhuc illa disciplina paupertate magistra steterit. Q. Curt.

† Erat Dario mite ac tractabile ingenium, nisi etiam suam naturam plerumque fortuna corrumperet. Q. Curt. I suspect the particle *tamen*

" teach

"teach poſterity, that when once men abandon themſelves "to the deluſion of fortune, ſhe erafes from their minds all "the ſeeds of goodneſs implanted in them by nature*." Darius ſoon repented his having put to death ſo valuable a perſon; and experienced, but too late, the truth of all he had told him.

The king advanced with his troops towards the Euphrates. It was a cuſtom long uſed by the Perſians, never to ſet out upon a march till after ſun-riſe, at which time the trumpet was ſounded for that purpoſe from the king's tent. Over this tent was exhibited to the view of the whole army, the image of the ſun ſet in cryſtal. The order they obſerved in their march was this:

Firſt, they carried ſilver altars, on which there lay fire, called by them ſacred and eternal; and theſe were followed by the Magi, ſinging hymns after the manner of their country. They were accompanied by 365 youths, agreeable to the number of days in a year, clothed in purple robes. Afterwards came a chariot conſecrated to † Jupiter, drawn by white horſes, and followed by a courſer of a prodigious ſize, to whom they gave the name of the ſun's horſe; and the equerries were dreſſed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand.

Ten chariots, adorned with ſculptures in gold and ſilver, followed after. Then marched a body of horſe, compoſed of 12 nations, whoſe manners and cuſtoms were various, and all armed in a different manner. Next advanced thoſe whom the Perſians called The Immortals, amounting to 10,000, who ſurpaſſed the reſt of the Barbarians in the ſumptuouſneſs of their apparel. They all wore golden collars, were clothed in robes of gold tiſſue with ſurtouts, having ſleeves to them, quite covered with precious ſtones.

Thirty paces from them, followed thoſe called the king's couſins or ‡ relations, to the number of 15,000, in habits very much reſembling thoſe of women, and more remarkable for the vain pomp of their dreſs than the glitter of their arms.

Thoſe called the § Doryphori came after; they carried the

* Tu quidem, licentia regni ſubito mutatus documentum eris poſteris, homines, cum ſe permiſere fortunæ, etiam naturam dediſcere. Q. Curt.

† Jupiter was a god unknown to the Perſians. Quintus Curtius, therefore, in all probability, calls the firſt and greateſt of their gods by that name.

‡ This was a title of dignity. Poſſibly a great number of the king's relations were in this body.

§ Theſe were guards who carried a half pike.

king's

king's cloak, and walked before his chariot, in which he ſeemed to ſit as on a high throne. This chariot was enriched on both ſides with images of the gods in gold and ſilver; and from the middle of the yoke, which was covered with jewels, roſe two ſtatues a cubit in height, the one repreſenting war, the other peace, having a golden eagle between them, with wings extended, as ready to take its flight.

But nothing could equal the magnificence of the king. He was clothed in a veſt of purple, ſtriped with ſilver, and over it a long robe glittering all over with gold and precious ſtones, that repreſented two falcons ruſhing from the clouds, and pecking at one another. Around his waiſt he wore a * golden girdle, after the manner of women, whence his ſcimitar hung, the ſcabbard of which flamed all with gems. On his head he wore a tiara or mitre, round which was a fillet of blue mixed with white.

On each ſide of him walked 200 of his neareſt relations, followed by 10,000 pikemen, whoſe pikes were adorned with ſilver, and tipped with gold; and laſtly, 30,000 infantry, who compoſed the rear-guard. Theſe were followed by the king's horſes, 400 in number, all which were led.

About 100, or 120 paces from thence, came Syſigambis, Darius's mother, ſeated on a chariot, and his conſort on another, with the ſeveral female attendants of both queens riding on horſeback. Afterwards came 15 large chariots, in which were the king's children, and thoſe who had the care of their education, with a band of eunuchs, who are to this day in great eſteem with thoſe nations. Then marched the concubines, to the number of 360, in the equipage of queens, followed by 600 mules and 300 camels, which carried the king's treaſure, and were guarded by a great body of archers.

After theſe came the wives of the crown-officers, and of the greateſt lords of the court; then the ſutlers, and ſervants of the army, ſeated alſo in chariots.

In the rear were a body of light-armed troops, with their commanders, who cloſed the whole march.

Would not the reader believe, that he had been reading the deſcription of a tournament, not the march of an army? Could he imagine that princes of the leaſt reaſon would have been ſo ſtupid, as to incorporate with their forces ſo cumberſome a train of women, princeſſes, concubines, eunuchs, and domeſtics of both ſexes? But the cuſtom of the country was reaſon ſufficient.

* Cidaris.

ficient. Darius, at the head of 600,000 men, and ſurrounded with this mighty pomp, prepared for himſelf only, fancied he was great, and roſe in the idea he had formed of himſelf. Yet ſhould we reduce him to his juſt proportion and his perſonal worth, how little would he appear! But he is not the only one in this way of thinking, and of whom we may form the ſame judgment. But it is time for us to bring the two monarchs to blows.

## SECTION V.

### ALEXANDER GAINS A FAMOUS VICTORY OVER DARIUS AT ISSUS.—CONSEQUENCES OF THAT VICTORY.

For the clearer underſtanding of Alexander's march*, and that of Darius, and the better fixing the ſituation of the ſpot where the ſecond battle was fought, we muſt diſtinguiſh three ſtraits or paſſes. † The firſt of theſe is immediately at the deſcent from mount Taurus, in the way to the city of Tarſus, through which, as has been already ſeen, Alexander marched, from Cappadocia into Cilicia. The ſecond is the paſs of Cilicia or Syria, leading from Cilicia into Syria; and the third is the paſs of Amanus, ſo called from that mountain. This paſs, which leads into Cilicia from Aſſyria, is much higher than the paſs of Syria, northward.

Alexander had detached Parmenio with part of the army to ſeize the paſs of Syria, in order to ſecure it for his march. As for himſelf, after marching from Tarſus, he arrived the next day at Anchiala, a city which Sardanapalus is ſaid to have built. His tomb was ſtill to be ſeen in that city with this inſcription, "Sardanapalus built Anchiala and Tarſus in one "day; *go paſſenger, eat, drink, and rejoice, for the reſt is no-*"*thing.*" From thence he came to Solæ, where he offered ſacrifices to Æſculapius, in gratitude for the recovery of his health. Alexander himſelf headed the ceremony with lighted tapers, followed by the whole army, and he there ſolemnized games; after which he returned to Tarſus. Having commanded Philotas to march the cavalry through the plains of Aleius, towards the river Pyramus, he himſelf went with the infantry and his life-guard to Magarſus, whence he arrived at Mallos, and afterwards at Caſtabala. Advice had been brought him, that

* A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332.

† Diod. l. xvii. p. 512—518. Arrian. l. ii. p. 66—82. Plut. in Alex. p. 675, 676. Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 4—12. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 9, 10.

Darius, with his whole army, was encamped at Sochus in Aſſyria, two days journey from Cilicia. There Alexander held a council of war upon that news; when all his generals and officers entreating him to march towards Darius, he ſet out the next day to give him battle. Parmenio had taken the little city of Iſſus, and after poſſeſſing himſelf of the paſs of Syria, had left a body of forces to ſecure it. The king left the ſick in Iſſus, marched his whole army through the paſs, and encamped near the city of Myriandrus, where the badneſs of the weather obliged him to halt.

In the mean time, Darius was in the plains of Aſſyria, of great extent. The Grecian commanders who were in his ſervice, and formed the chief ſtrength of his army, adviſed him to wait there the coming up of the enemy; for, beſides that this ſpot was open on all ſides, and very advantageous for his horſe, it was ſpacious enough to contain his vaſtly numerous hoſt, with all the baggage and other things belonging to the army. However, if he ſhould not approve of this counſel, they then adviſed him to ſeparate this multitude, and ſelect ſuch only as were the flower of his troops; and conſequently not venture his whole army upon a ſingle battle, which perhaps might be deciſive. However, the courtiers, with whom the courts of monarchs, as Arrian obſerves, for ever abound, called theſe Greeks an unfaithful nation, and venal wretches; and hinted to Darius, that the only motive of their counſelling the king to divide his troops was, that, after they ſhould once be ſeparated from the reſt, they might have an eaſier opportunity of delivering up into the enemy's hands whatever might be in their power; but that the ſafeſt way would be, to ſurround them with the whole army, and cut them to pieces, as an illuſtrious example of the puniſhment due to traitors. This propoſal was vaſtly ſhocking to Darius, who was naturally of a very mild and humane diſpoſition. He therefore anſwered, "That he was far from ever deſigning to commit ſo horrible a "crime; that ſhould he be guilty of it, no nation would afterwards give the leaſt credit to his promiſes: that it was never "known that a perſon had been put to death for giving imprudent counſel*; that no man would ever venture to give "his opinion, if it were attended with ſuch danger, a circumſtance that would be of the moſt fatal conſequences to princes." He then thanked the Greeks for their zeal and good-

* Neminem ſtolidum conſilium capite luere debere; defuturos enim qui ſuaderent, ſi ſuaſiſſe periculum eſſet. Q. Curt.

will,

will, and condescended to lay before them the reasons which prompted him not to follow their advice.

The courtiers had persuaded Darius, that Alexander's long delay in coming up with them, was a proof and an effect of the terror with which the approach of the Persian army had filled him (for they had not heard a word of his indisposition); that fortune, merely for their sake, had led Alexander into straits and narrow passes, whence it would be impossible for him to get out, in case they should fall upon him immediately; that they ought to seize this favourable opportunity, for fear the enemy should fly, by which means Alexander would escape them. Upon this, it was resolved in council, that the army should march in search of him; the gods, says an historian *, blinding the eyes of that prince, that he might rush down the precipice they had prepared for him, and thereby make way for the destruction of the Persian monarchy.

Darius having sent his treasure, with his most precious moveables, to Damascus, a city of Syria, under a small convoy, marched the main body of his army towards Cilicia, and entered it by the pass of Amanus, which lies far above the passes of Syria. His queen and mother, with the princesses his daughters, and the little prince his son, followed the army, according to the custom of the Persians, but were in the camp during the battle. When he had advanced a little way into Cilicia, from east westward, he turned short towards Issus, not knowing that Alexander was behind; for he had been assured that this prince fled before him, and was retired in great disorder into Syria; and therefore Darius was now considering how he might best pursue him. He barbarously put to death all the sick who were then in the city of Issus, a few soldiers excepted, whom he dismissed, after making them view every part of his camp, in order that they might be spectators of the prodigious multitude of his forces. These soldiers accordingly brought Alexander word of Darius's approach, which he could scarce believe, from its great improbability, though there was nothing he desired more earnestly. But he himself was soon an eye-witness to the truth of it, upon which he began to think seriously of preparing for battle.

Alexander fearing, as the barbarians were so numerous, that they would attack him in his camp, fortified it with ditches and palisadoes, discovering an incredible joy to see his desire fulfilled, which was, to engage in those passes, whither the

* Arrian.

gods ſeemed to have led Darius expreſsly, to deliver him into his hands.

And, indeed, this ſpot of ground, which was but wide enough for a ſmall army to act and move at liberty in, reduced, in ſome meaſure, the two armies to an equality. By this means the Macedonians had ſpace ſufficient to employ their whole army; whereas the Perſians had not room for the twentieth part of theirs.

Nevertheleſs Alexander, as frequently happens to the greateſt captains, felt ſome emotion when he ſaw that he was going to hazard all at one blow. The more fortune had favoured him hitherto, the more he now dreaded her frowns; the moment approaching which was to determine his fate. But, on the other ſide, his courage revived from the reflection, that the rewards of his toils exceeded the dangers of them; and though he was uncertain with regard to the victory, he at leaſt hoped to die glorioufly, and like Alexander. However, he did not divulge theſe thoughts to any one, well knowing, that, upon the approach of a battle, a general ought not to diſcover the leaſt marks of ſadneſs or perplexity; and that the troops ſhould read nothing but reſolution and intrepidity in the countenance of their commander.

Having made his ſoldiers refreſh themſelves, and ordered them to be ready for the third watch of the night, which began at twelve, he went * to the top of a mountain, and there, by torch-light, ſacrificed, after the manner of his country, to the gods of the place. As ſoon as the ſignal was given, his army, which was ready to march and fight, being commanded to make greater ſpeed, arrived by day-break at the ſeveral poſts aſſigned them: but now the couriers bringing word that Darius was not above 30 furlongs from them, the king cauſed his army to halt, and then drew it up in battle-array. The peaſants in the greateſt terror came alſo and acquainted Darius with the arrival of the enemy, which he would not at firſt believe, imagining, as we have obſerved, that Alexander fled before him, and endeavoured to eſcape. This news threw his troops into the utmoſt confuſion, who in that ſurpriſe ran to their arms with great precipitation and diſorder.

The ſpot where the battle was fought, lay near the city of Iſſus, which the mountains bounded on one ſide, and the ſea on the other. The plain, that was ſituated between them both, muſt have been conſiderably broad, as the two armies encamped in it; and I before obſerved, that Darius's was vaſtly nu-

* The ancients uſed to offer up their ſacrifices upon eminences.

merous,

merous. The river Pinarius ran through the middle of this plain from the mountain to the sea, and divided it very near into two equal parts. The mountain formed a hollow like a gulf, the extremity of which in a curve line bounded part of the plain.

Alexander drew up his army in the following order: he posted at the extremity of the right wing, which stood near the mountains, the * Argyraspides, commanded by Nicanor; then the phalanx of Cœnus, and afterwards that of Perdiccas, which terminated in the centre of the main army. On the extremity of the left wing he posted the phalanx of Amyntas, then that of Ptolemy, and lastly, that of Meleager. Thus the famous Macedonian phalanx was formed, which we find was composed of six distinct corps or brigades. Each of these bodies was headed by able generals; but Alexander, being always generalissimo, had consequently the command of the whole army. The horse were placed on the two wings; the Macedonians, with the Thessalians, on the right, and those of Peloponnesus, with the other allies, on the left. Craterus commanded all the foot which composed the left wing, and Parmenio the whole wing. Alexander had reserved to himself the command of the right. He had desired Parmenio to keep as near the sea as possible, to prevent the barbarians from surrounding him; and Nicanor, on the contrary, was ordered to keep at some distance from the mountains, to keep himself out of the reach of the arrows discharged by those who were posted on them. He covered the horse of his right wing with the light-horse of Protomachus and the Pæonians, and his foot with the bowmen of Antiochus. He reserved the †Agrians, commanded by Attalus, who were greatly esteemed, and some forces that were newly arrived from Greece, to oppose those Darius had posted on the mountains.

As for Darius's army, it was drawn up in the following order: having heard that Alexander was marching towards him in battle-array, he commanded 30,000 horse and 20,000 bowmen to cross the river Pinarius, that he might have an opportunity to draw up his army in a commodious manner on the hither side. In the centre he posted the 30,000 Greeks in his service, who, doubtless, were the flower and chief strength of his army, and were not at all inferior in bravery to the Ma-

* This was a body of infantry, distinguished by their silver shields, but much more so by their great bravery.

† Agria was a city between the mountains Hæmus and Rhodope.

cedonian phalanx, with 30,000 Carducians on their right, and as many on their left: the field of battle not being able to contain a greater number. Theſe were all heavily armed. The reſt of the infantry, diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral nations, were ranged behind the firſt line. It is pity Arrian does not tell us the depth of each of thoſe two lines; but it muſt have been prodigious, if we conſider the extreme narrowneſs of the paſs, and the amazing multitude of the Perſian forces. On the mountain which lay to their left, againſt Alexander's right wing, Darius poſted 20,000 men, who were ſo ranged, in the ſeveral windings of the mountain, that ſome were behind Alexander's army, and others before it.

Darius, after having ſet his army in battle-array, made his horſe croſs the river again, and diſpatched the greateſt part of them towards the ſea againſt Parmenio, becauſe they could fight on that ſpot with the greateſt advantage: the reſt of his cavalry he ſent to the left, towards the mountain. However, finding that theſe would be of no ſervice on that ſide, becauſe of the too great narrowneſs of the ſpot, he cauſed a great part of them to wheel about to the right. As for himſelf, he took his poſt in the centre of his army, purſuant to the cuſtom of the Perſian monarchs.

Alexander, obſerving that moſt of the enemy's horſe was to oppoſe his left wing, which conſiſted only of thoſe of Peloponneſus, and of ſome other allies, detached immediately to it the Theſſalian cavalry, which he cauſed to wheel round behind his battalions, to prevent their being ſeen by the barbarians. On the ſame ſide (the left), he poſted before his foot, the Cretan bowmen, and the Thracians of Sitacles, a king of Thrace, who was covered by the horſe. The foreigners in his ſervice were behind all the reſt.

Perceiving that his right wing did not extend ſo far as the left of the Perſians, which might ſurround and attack it in flank, he drew from the centre of his army two regiments of foot, which he detached thither, with orders for them to march behind, to prevent their being ſeen by the enemy. He alſo reinforced that wing of his forces which he had oppoſed to the barbarians on the mountains; for, ſeeing they did not come down, he made the Agrians and ſome other bowmen attack them, and drive them towards the ſummit of it; ſo that he left only 300 horſe to keep them in, and ſent the reſt, as I obſerved, to reinforce his right wing, which by this means extended farther than that of the Perſians.

The two armies being thus drawn up in order of battle,

Alexander

Alexander marched very ſlowly, that his ſoldiers might take a little breath; ſo that it was ſuppoſed they would not engage till very late: for Darius ſtill continued with his army on the other ſide of the river, in order not to loſe the advantageous ſituation of his poſt, and even cauſed ſuch parts of the ſhore as were not craggy to be ſecured with paliſadoes, whence the Macedonians concluded that he was already afraid of being defeated. The two armies being come in ſight, Alexander, riding along the ranks, called, by their ſeveral names, the principal officers both of the Macedonians and foreigners; and exhorted the ſoldiers to ſignalize themſelves, ſpeaking to each nation according to its peculiar genius and diſpoſition. To the Macedonians he repreſented, "the victories they had formerly "gained in Europe; the ſtill recent glory of the battle of the "Granicus; the great number of cities and provinces they had "left behind them, all which they had ſubdued." He added, that "by one ſingle victory they would poſſeſs themſelves of "the Perſian empire; and that the ſpoils of the eaſt would "be the reward of their bravery and toils." The Grecks he animated, "by the remembrance of the many calamities which "the Perſians, thoſe irreconcileable enemies to Greece, had "brought upon them;" and ſet before them "the famous "battles of Marathon, of Thermopylæ, of Salamis, of Platæa, "and the many others, by which they had acquired immortal "glory." He bid the Illyrians and Thracians, nations who uſed to ſubſiſt by plunder and rapine, "view the enemy's army, "every part of which ſhone with gold and purple, and was "not loaded ſo much with arms as with booty. That they "therefore ſhould puſh forward, they who were men, and ſtrip "all thoſe women of their ornaments; and exchange their "mountains, covered perpetually with ice and ſnow, for the "ſmiling plains and rich fields of Perſia." The moment he had ended, the whole army ſet up a ſhout, and eagerly deſired to be led on directly againſt the enemy.

Alexander had advanced at firſt very ſlowly, to prevent the ranks, or the front of his phalanx, from breaking, and halted by intervals: but when he was got within bow-ſhot, he commanded all his right wing to plunge impetuouſly into the river, purpoſely that they might ſurpriſe the barbarians, come ſooner to a cloſe engagement, and be leſs expoſed to the enemy's arrows; in all which he was very ſucceſsful. Both ſides fought with the utmoſt bravery and reſolution; and being now forced to fight cloſe, they charged on both ſides ſword in hand, when a dreadful ſlaughter enſued; for they engaged man to man,

each

each aiming the point of his ſword at the face of his opponent. Alexander, who performed the duty both of a private ſoldier and of a commander, wiſhed nothing ſo ardently as the glory of killing, with his own hand, Darius, who, being ſeated on a high chariot, was conſpicuous to the whole army, and by that means was a powerful object, both to encourage his own ſoldiers to defend, and the enemy to attack him. And now the battle grew more furious and bloody than before; ſo that a great number of Perſian noblemen were killed. Each ſide fought with incredible bravery. Oxathres, brother to Darius, obſerving that Alexander was going to charge that monarch with the utmoſt vigour, ruſhed before his chariot with the horſe under his command, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the reſt. The horſes that drew Darius's chariot, being quite covered with wounds, began to prance about, and ſhook the yoke ſo violently, that they were upon the point of overturning the king, who, ſeeing himſelf going to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, leaped down, and mounted another chariot. The reſt obſerving this, fled as faſt as poſſible, and, throwing down their arms, made the beſt of their way. Alexander had received a ſlight wound in his thigh, but happily it was not attended with ill conſequences.

Whilſt part of the Macedonian infantry, poſted to the right, were carrying on the advantages they had gained againſt the Perſians, the remainder of them who engaged the Greeks met with greater reſiſtance. Theſe obſerving that the body of infantry in queſtion were no longer covered by the right wing of Alexander's army, which was purſuing the enemy, came and attacked it in flank. The engagement was very bloody, and victory a long time doubtful. The Greeks endeavoured to puſh the Macedonians into the river, and to recover the diſorder into which the left wing had been thrown. The Macedonians alſo ſignalized themſelves with the utmoſt bravery, in order to preſerve the advantage which Alexander had juſt before gained, and ſupport the honour of their phalanx, which had always been conſidered as invincible. There was alſo a perpetual jealouſy between theſe two nations, the Greeks and Macedonians, which greatly increaſed their courage, and made the reſiſtance on each ſide very vigorous. On Alexander's ſide, Ptolemy the ſon of Seleucus loſt his life, with 120 more conſiderable officers, who all had behaved with the utmoſt gallantry.

In the mean time the right wing, which was victorious under its monarch, after defeating all who oppoſed it, wheeled

to

to the left againſt thoſe Greeks who were fighting with the reſt of the Macedonian phalanx, whom they charged very rigorouſly; and attacking them in flank, entirely routed them.

At the very beginning of the engagement, the Perſian cavalry which was in the right wing, without waiting for their being attacked by the Macedonians, had croſſed the river, and ruſhed upon the Theſſalian horſe, ſeveral of whoſe ſquadrons were broke by it. Upon this, the remainder of the latter, in order to avoid the impetuoſity of the firſt charge, and oblige the Perſians to break their ranks, made a feint of retiring, as terrified by the prodigious numbers of the enemy. The Perſians ſeeing this, were filled with boldneſs and confidence; and thereupon the greateſt part of them, advancing without order or precaution, as to a certain victory, had no thoughts but of purſuing the enemy. Upon this, the Theſſalians ſeeing them in ſuch confuſion, faced about on a ſudden, and renewed the fight with freſh ardour. The Perſians made a brave defence, till they ſaw Darius put to flight, and the Greeks cut to pieces by the phalanx.

The routing of the Perſian cavalry completed the defeat of the army. The Perſian horſe ſuffered very much in the retreat, from the great weight of the arms of their riders; not to mention, that as they retired in diſorder, and crowded in great numbers through paſſes, they bruiſed and unhorſed one another, and were more annoyed by their own ſoldiers than by the enemy. Beſides, the Theſſalian cavalry purſued them with ſo much fury, that they were as much ſhattered as the infantry, and loſt as many men.

With regard to Darius, as we before obſerved, the inſtant he ſaw his left wing broke, he was one of the firſt who fled in his chariot; but getting afterwards into craggy rugged places, he mounted on horſeback, throwing down his bow, ſhield, and royal mantle. Alexander, however, did not attempt to purſue him, till he ſaw his phalanx had conquered the Greeks, and the Perſian horſe put to flight; which was of great advantage to the prince that fled.

About 8000 of the Greeks that were in Darius's ſervice, with their officers at their head, who were very brave, retired over the mountains, towards Tripoli in Syria, where, finding the tranſports which had brought them from Leſbos upon dry ground, they fitted out as many of them as ſuited their purpoſe, and burned the reſt, to prevent their being purſued.

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As for the barbarians, having exerted themſelves with bravery enough in the firſt attack, they afterwards gave way in the moſt ſhameful manner; and, being intent upon nothing but ſaving themſelves, they took different ways. Some ſtruck into the high road which led directly to Perſia; others ran into woods and lonely mountains; and a ſmall number returned to their camp, which the victorious enemy had already taken and plundered.

Syſigambis, Darius's mother, and that monarch's queen, who alſo was his ſiſter, remained in it, with two of the king's daughters, a ſon of his, a child, and ſome Perſian ladies; for the reſt had been carried to Damaſcus, with part of Darius's treaſure, and all ſuch things as contributed only to the luxury and magnificence of his court. No more than 3000 * talents were found in his camp; but the reſt of the treaſure fell afterwards into the hands of Parmenio, at his taking the city of Damaſcus.

† Alexander, weary of purſuing Darius, ſeeing night draw on, and that it would be impoſſible for him to overtake that monarch, returned to the enemy's camp, which his ſoldiers had juſt before plundered. Such was the end of this memorable battle, fought the fourth year of Alexander's reign. The Perſians‡, either in the engagement or the rout, loſt a great number of their forces, both horſe and foot; but very few were killed on Alexander's ſide.

That very evening he invited the grandees of his court, and his chief officers, to a feaſt, at which he himſelf was preſent, notwithſtanding the wound he had received, it having only grazed the ſkin. But they were no ſooner ſet down at table, than they heard, from a neighbouring tent, a great noiſe, intermixed with groans, which frighted all the company; inſomuch that the ſoldiers, who were upon guard before the king's tent, ran to their arms, being afraid of an inſurrection. But it was found, that the perſons who made this clamour were the mother and wife of Darius, and the reſt of the captive ladies, who ſuppoſing that prince dead, bewailed his loſs, according to the cuſtom of the barbarians, with dreadful cries and howlings. An eunuch, who had ſeen Darius's cloak in the hands

* About L.440,000 ſterling. † A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332.

‡ According to Quintus Curtius and Arrian, the Perſians loſt 100,000 foot and 10,000 horſe. And the former hiſtorian relates that no more than 150 horſe and 300 foot were loſt on Alexander's ſide, which does not ſeem very probable.

of

of a ſoldier, imagining he had killed him, and afterwards ſtripped him of that garment, had carried them that falſe account.

We are told that Alexander, upon being told the reaſon of this falſe alarm, could not refrain from tears, when he conſidered the ſad calamity of Darius, and the tender diſpoſition of thoſe princeſſes, whom his misfortunes only affected. He thereupon ſent Leonatus, one of his chief courtiers, to aſſure them, that the man whoſe death they bewailed was alive. Leonatus, taking ſome ſoldiers with him, came to the tent of the princeſſes, and ſent word, that he was come to pay them a viſit in the king's name. The perſons, who were at the entrance of the tent, ſeeing a band of armed men, imagined that their miſtreſſes were undone; and accordingly ran into the tent, crying aloud, that their laſt hour was come, and that ſoldiers were diſpatched to murder them; ſo that theſe princeſſes, being ſeized with the utmoſt diſtraction, did not make the leaſt anſwer, but waited in deep ſilence for the orders of the conqueror. At laſt, Leonatus having ſtaid a long time, and ſeeing no one appear, left his ſoldiers at the door, and came into the tent: but their terror increaſed, when they ſaw a man enter among them without being introduced. They thereupon threw themſelves at his feet, and intreated, that "before he "put them to death, they might be allowed to bury Darius, "after the manner of their country; and that when they had "paid this laſt duty to their king, they ſhould die contented." Leonatus anſwered, "That Darius was living; and that ſo "far from giving them any offence, they ſhould be treated as "queens, and live in their former ſplendor." Syſigambis, hearing this, began to recover her ſpirits, and permitted Leonatus to give her his hand, to raiſe her from the ground.

The next day Alexander, after viſiting the wounded, cauſed the laſt honours to be paid to the dead, in preſence of the whole army, drawn up in the moſt ſplendid order of battle. He treated the Perſians of diſtinction in the ſame manner, and permitted Darius's mother to bury whatever perſons ſhe pleaſed, according to the cuſtoms and ceremonies practiſed in her country. However, this prudent princeſs uſed that permiſſion in regard only to a few who were her near relations, and that with ſuch a modeſty and reſerve as ſhe thought ſuited her preſent condition. The king teſtified his joy and gratitude to the whole army, eſpecially to the chief officers, whoſe actions he applauded in the ſtrongeſt terms, as well thoſe of which he himſelf had been an eye-witneſs, as ſuch as had been only related

lated to him; and he made preſents to all, according to their merit and ſtation.

After Alexander had performed theſe ſeveral duties, truly worthy a great monarch, he ſent a meſſage to the queens, to inform them that he was coming to pay them a viſit; and accordingly, commanding all his train to withdraw, he entered the tent, accompanied only by Hephæſtion. He was his favourite; and as they had been brought up together, the king revealed his ſecrets to him, and nobody elſe dared to ſpeak ſo freely to him*; but even Hephæſtion made ſo cautious and diſcreet an uſe of that liberty, that he ſeemed to take it, not ſo much out of inclination, as from a deſire to obey the king, who would have it ſo. They were of the ſame age, but Hephæſtion was taller, ſo that the queens took him at firſt for the king, and paid him their reſpects as ſuch: But ſome captive eunuchs ſhowing them Alexander, Syſigambis fell proſtrate before him, and begged his pardon; declaring, that as ſhe had never ſeen him, ſhe hoped that conſideration would plead her apology. The king, raiſing her from the ground, "Dear mother," ſays he, "you are not miſtaken, for he alſo "is an Alexander †:" A fine expreſſion, which does honour to both! Had Alexander always thought and acted in this manner, he would have juſtly merited the title of Great; but fortune had not yet corrupted his ſoul‡. He bore her at firſt with moderation and wiſdom; but at laſt ſhe overpowered him, and he became unable to reſiſt her.

Syſigambis, ſtrongly affected with theſe teſtimonies of goodneſs and humanity, could not forbear teſtifying her gratitude upon that account. "Great prince," ſaid ſhe to him, "what "words ſhall I find to expreſs my thanks, in ſuch a manner "as may anſwer your generoſity! You call me your mother, "and honour me ſtill with the title of queen, whereas I con"feſs myſelf your captive. § I know what I have been, and "what I now am. I know the whole extent of my paſt gran"deur, and find I can ſupport all the weight of my preſent

* Libertatis quoque in eo admonendo non alius jus habebat; quod tamen ita uſurpabat, ut magis a rege permiſſum quam vindicatum ab eo videretur. Quintus Curtius.

† O donum inclytæ vocis, danti pariter atque accipienti ſpecioſum! Val. Max. l. iv. c. 7.

‡ Sed nondum fortuna ſe animo ejus infuderat. Itaque orientem eam moderate et prudenter tulit: ad ultimum magnitudinem ejus non cepit. Q. Curt.

§ Et præteritae fortunæ faſtigium capio, et præſentis jugum pati poſſum. Q. Curtius.

"ill

" ill fortune. But it will be glorious for you, as you now have " an abſolute power over us, to make us feel it by your cle- " mency only, and not by ill treatment."

The king, after comforting the princeſſes, took Darius's ſon in his arms. This little child, without diſcovering the leaſt terror, embraced Alexander, who being affected with his confidence, and turning about to Hephæſtion, ſaid to him; " O " that Darius had had ſome portion of this tender diſpoſi- " tion!"

It is certain that Darius, in the beginning of his reign, behaved in ſuch a manner, that he ſurpaſſed, in clemency and goodneſs, all the kings his predeceſſors, and was ſuperior to a paſſion which conquers and enſlaves the ſtrongeſt. Darius's conſort was the moſt lovely princeſs in the world, as he himſelf was the moſt beautiful of princes, and of a very tall and moſt majeſtic ſhape; and the princeſſes their daughters reſembled them. They were, ſays Plutarch, in Alexander's camp, not as in that of an enemy, but as in a ſacred temple, and a ſanctuary aſſigned for the aſylum of chaſtity, in which all the princeſſes lived ſo retired, that they were not ſeen by any perſon, nor did any one dare to approach their apartments.

We even find, that after the firſt viſit above mentioned, which was a reſpectful and ceremonious one, Alexander, to avoid expoſing himſelf to the dangers of human frailty, took a ſolemn reſolution never to viſit Darius's queen any more*. He himſelf informs us of this memorable circumſtance, in a letter wrote by him to Parmenio, in which he commanded him to put to death certain Macedonians, who had forced the wives of ſome foreign ſoldiers. In this letter the following words were read: " For, as to myſelf, it will be found that I neither " ſaw, nor would ſee, the wife of Darius; and did not ſuffer " any perſon to ſpeak of her beauty before me." We are to remember that Alexander was young, victorious, and free, that is, not engaged in marriage, as has been obſerved of the firſt Scipio on a like occaſion†. " Et juvenis, et cœlebs, et victor."

To conclude: he treated theſe princeſſes with ſuch humanity, that nothing but the remembrance that they were captives could have made them ſenſible of their calamity; and of all the advantages they poſſeſſed before, nothing was wanting

* Plut. in Alex. † Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3.

with regard to Alexander, but that truſt and confidence, which no one can repoſe in an enemy, how kindly ſoever he behaves.

## SECTION VI.

### ALEXANDER MARCHES VICTORIOUS INTO SYRIA.—LAYS SIEGE TO TYRE, WHICH HE TAKES BY STORM.

ALEXANDER * ſet out towards Syria, after having conſecrated three altars on the river Pinarius, the firſt to Jupiter, the ſecond to Hercules, and the third to Minerva, as ſo many monuments of his victory. He had ſent Parmenio to Damaſcus, in which Darius's treaſure was depoſited. The governor of the city, betraying his ſovereign, from whom he had now no further expectations, wrote to Alexander to acquaint him, that he was ready to deliver up into his hands all the treaſure and other rich ſtores of Darius. But being deſirous of covering his treaſon with a ſpecious pretext, he pretended that he was not ſecure in the city; ſo cauſed, by day break, all the money and the richeſt things in it to be put on men's backs, and fled away with the whole, ſeemingly with intention to ſecure them, but in reality to deliver them up to the enemy, as he had agreed with Parmenio, who had opened the letter addreſſed to the king. At the firſt ſight of the forces which this general headed, thoſe who carried the burdens being frighted, threw them down, and fled away, as did the ſoldiers who convoyed them, and the governor himſelf, who was moſt terrified. On this occaſion immenſe riches were ſeen ſcattered up and down the fields; all the gold and ſilver deſigned to pay ſo great an army; the ſplendid equipages of ſo many great lords and ladies; the golden vaſes and bridles, magnificent tents, and carriages abandoned by their drivers; in a word, whatever the long proſperity and frugality of ſo many kings had amaſſed during many ages, was abandoned to the conqueror.

But the moſt moving part of this ſad ſcene was, to ſee the wives of the ſatraps and grandees of Perſia, moſt of whom dragged their little children after them; ſo much the greater objects of compaſſion, as they were leſs ſenſible of their misfortune. Among theſe were three young princeſſes, daughters of Ochus, who had reigned before Darius; the widow of this Ochus; the daughter of Oxathres, brother of Darius; the

* Diod. l. xvii. p. 517, 518. Arrian. l. ii. p. 83—86. Plut. in Alex. p. 678. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 1. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 10.

wife

wife of Artabazus, the greateſt lord of the court, and his ſon Ilioneus. There alſo were taken priſoners the wife and ſon of Pharnabazus, whom the king had appointed admiral of all the coaſts; three daughters of Mentor; the wife and ſon of Memnon, the illuſtrious general: inſomuch, that ſcarce one noble family in all Perſia but ſhared in this calamity.

There alſo were found in Damaſcus the ambaſſadors of the Grecian cities, particularly thoſe of Lacedemon and Athens, whom Darius thought he had lodged in a ſafe aſylum, when he put them under the protection of that traitor.

Beſides money, and plate which was afterwards coined, and amounted to immenſe ſums, 30,000 men, and 7000 beaſts laden with baggage, were taken. We find by Parmenio's letter * to Alexander, that he found in Damaſcus 329 of Darius's concubines, all admirably well ſkilled in muſic; and alſo a multitude of officers, whoſe buſineſs was to regulate and prepare every thing relating to entertainments; ſuch as to make wreaths, to prepare perfumes and eſſences, to dreſs viands, to make pies, and all things in the paſtry way, to preſide over the wine-cellars, to give out the wine, and ſuch like. There were 492 of theſe officers—a train worthy of a prince who runs to his deſtruction!

Darius, who a few hours before was at the head of ſo mighty and ſplendid an army, and who came into the field, mounted on a chariot, with the pride of a conqueror rather than with the equipage of a warrior, was flying over plains, which, from being before covered with the infinite multitude of his forces, now appeared like a deſert or vaſt ſolitude. This ill-fated prince rode ſwiftly the whole night, accompanied by a very few attendants; for all had not taken the ſame road, and moſt of thoſe who accompanied him could not keep up with him, as he often changed his horſes. At laſt he arrived at † Sochus, where he aſſembled the remains of his army, which amounted only to 4000 men, including Perſians as well as foreigners; and from hence he made all poſſible haſte to Thapſacus, in order to have the Euphrates between him and Alexander.

In the mean time, Parmenio having carried all the booty into Damaſcus, the king commanded him to take care of it, and likewiſe of the captives. Moſt of the cities of Syria ſurren-

* Athen. l. xiii. p. 607.

† This city was two or three days journey from the place where the battle was fought.

dered at the first approaches of the conqueror. Being arrived at Marathes, he received a letter from Darius, in which he styled himself king, without bestowing that title on Alexander. He commanded, rather than intreated him, "to ask "any sum of money he should think proper by way of ransom "for his mother, his wife, and children. That with regard "to their dispute for empire, he might, if he thought proper, "decide it in one general battle, to which both parties should "bring an equal number of troops: But that in case he were "still capable of good counsel, he would advise him to rest contented with the kingdom of his ancestors, and not invade that "of another; that they should henceforward live as good "friends and faithful allies; that he himself was ready to swear "to the observance of these articles, and to receive Alexander's oath."

This letter, which breathed so unseasonable a pride and haughtiness, exceedingly offended Alexander. He therefore wrote the following answer: "Alexander the king to Darius. "The ancient Darius, whose name you assume, in former "times entirely ruined the Greeks who inhabit the coasts of "the Hellespont, and the Ionians, our ancient colonies. He "next crossed the sea at the head of a powerful army, and "carried the war into the very heart of Macedonia and Greece. "After him, Xerxes made another descent with a dreadful "number of Barbarians, in order to fight us; and having been "overcome in a naval engagement, he left, at his retiring, "Mardonius in Greece, who plundered our cities, and laid "waste our plains. But who has not heard, that Philip, my "father, was assassinated by wretches suborned thereto by your "partisans, in hopes of a great reward! For it is customary "with the Persians to undertake impious wars, and, when "armed in the field, to set a price upon the heads of their enemies. And even you yourself, though at the head of a vast "army, however promised a thousand talents to any person "who should kill me. I therefore only defend myself, and "consequently am not the aggressor. And indeed the gods, "who always declare for the just cause, have favoured my "arms; and, aided by their protection, I have subjected a "great part of Asia, and defeated you, Darius, in a pitched "battle. However, though I ought not to grant any request "you make, since you have not acted fairly in this war; nevertheless, in case you will appear before me in a supplicating posture, I give you my word, that I will restore to you, "without any ransom, your mother, your wife, and children.

"I will

" I will let you see, that I know how to conquer, and to " oblige the conquered *. If you are afraid of surrendering " yourself to me, I now assure you, upon my honour, that you " may do it without the least danger: But remember, when " you next write to me, that you write not only to a king, but " to your king." Therippus was ordered to carry this letter.

Alexander, marching from thence into Phœnicia, the citizens of Byblos opened their gates to him. Every one submitted as he advanced; but no people did this with greater pleasure than the Sidonians. We have seen in what manner Ochus had destroyed their city 18 years before, and put all the inhabitants of it to the sword. After he was returned into Persia, those of the citizens who, upon account of their traffic, or for some other cause, had been absent, and by that means had escaped the massacre, returned thither, and rebuilt their city. But they had retained so violent a hatred of the Persians, that they were overjoyed at this opportunity to throw off their yoke; and indeed they were the first in that country who submitted to the king by their deputies, in opposition to Strato their king, who had declared in favour of Darius. Alexander dethroned him, and permitted Hephæstion to elect in his stead whomsoever of the Sidonians he should judge worthy of so exalted a station.

This favourite was quartered at the house of two brothers, who were young, and of the most considerable family in the city. To these he offered the crown: but they refused it, telling him, that, according to the laws of their country, no person could ascend the throne, unless he were of the blood royal. Hephæstion admiring this greatness of soul, which could contemn what others strive to obtain by fire and sword: " Con- " tinue," says he to them, " in this way of thinking; you, " who before were sensible that it is much more glorious to re- " fuse a diadem, than to accept it. However, name me some " person of the royal family, who may remember, when he is " king, that it was you set the crown upon his head." The brothers, observing that several, through excessive ambition, aspired to this high station, and to obtain it paid a servile court to Alexander's favourites, declared, that they did not know any person more worthy of the diadem than one Abdolonymus, descended, though at a great distance, from the royal line; but who, at the same time, was so poor, that he was obliged to get his bread by day labour in a garden without

* Et vincere, et consulere victis scio. Q. Curt.

the city. His honeſty and integrity had reduced him, as well as many more, to ſo extreme poverty. Solely intent upon his labour, he did not hear the claſhing of the arms which had ſhaken all Aſia.

Immediately the two brothers went in ſearch of Abdolonymus with the royal garments, and found him weeding his garden. They then ſaluted him king, and one of them addreſſed him thus: "You muſt now change your tatters for the dreſs "I have brought you. Put off the mean and contemptible "habit in which you have grown old; * aſſume the ſenti- "ments of a prince; but when you are ſeated on the throne, "continue to preſerve the virtue which made you worthy of "it. And when you ſhall have aſcended it, and by that "means become the ſupreme diſpenſer of life and death over "all your citizens, be ſure never to forget the condition in "which, or rather for which, you was elected." Abdolonymus looked upon the whole as a dream, and, unable to gueſs the meaning of it, aſked if they were not aſhamed to ridicule him in that manner. But, as he made a greater reſiſtance than ſuited their inclinations, they themſelves waſhed him, and threw over his ſhoulders a purple robe, richly embroidered with gold; then, after repeated oaths of their being in earneſt, they conducted him to the palace.

The news of this was immediately ſpread over the whole city. Moſt of the inhabitants were overjoyed at it, but ſome murmured, eſpecially the rich, who deſpiſing Abdolonymus's former abject ſtate, could not forbear ſhowing their reſentments upon that account in the king's court. Alexander commanded the new-elected prince to be ſent for; and, after ſurveying him attentively a long time, ſpoke thus: "Thy † air "and mien do not contradict what is related of thy extrac- "tion; but I ſhould be glad to know with what frame of "mind thou didſt bear thy poverty."—"Would to the gods," replied he, "that I may bear this crown with equal patience.

* Cape regis animum, et in eam fortunam, qua dignus ei, iſtam continentiam profer. Et, cum in regali ſolio reſidebis, vitæ neciſque omnium civium dominus, cave obliviſcaris hujus ſtatus in quo accipis regnum, imo hercule, propter quem. Quint. Curt.

† Corporis, inquit, habitus, famæ generis non repugnat. Sed libet ſcire, inopiam qua patientia tuleris. Tum ille: utinam, inquit, eodem animo regnum ‡ pati poſſim! Hæ manus ſuffecere deſiderio meo. Nihil habenti, nihil deſuit. Q. Curt.

‡ The thought is beautiful and juſt. He conſiders the regal power as a burden more difficult to be borne than poverty: "regnum pati."

"Theſe

"These hands have procured me all I desired; and whilst I "possessed nothing, I wanted nothing." This answer gave Alexander an high idea of Abdolonymus's virtue; so that he presented him not only with all the rich furniture which had belonged to Strato, and part of the Persian plunder, but likewise annexed one of the neighbouring provinces to his dominions.

* Syria and Phœnicia were already subdued by the Macedonians, the city of Tyre excepted. This city was justly entitled the Queen of the Sea, that element bringing to it the tribute of all nations. She boasted her having first invented navigation, and taught mankind the art of braving the wind and waves by the assistance of a frail bark. The happy situation of Tyre, the conveniency and extent of its ports, the character of its inhabitants, who were industrious, laborious, patient, and extremely courteous to strangers, invited thither merchants from all parts of the globe; so that it might be considered, not so much as a city belonging to any particular nation, as the common city of all nations, and the centre of their commerce.

Upon Alexander's advancing towards it, the Tyrians sent him an embassy with presents for himself, and refreshments for his army. They were willing to have him for their friend, but not for their master; so that when he discovered a desire of entering their city, in order to offer a sacrifice to Hercules, its tutelar god, they refused him admission. But this conqueror, after gaining so many victories, had too high an heart to put up such an affront, and thereupon was resolved to force them to it by a siege, which they, on the other side, were determined to sustain with the utmost vigour. The spring was now coming on. Tyre was at that time seated in an island of the sea, about a quarter of a † league from the continent. It was surrounded with a strong wall 150 feet high, which the waves of the sea washed; and the Carthaginians, a colony from Tyre, a mighty people, and sovereigns of the ocean, whose ambassadors were at that time in the city offering to Hercules, according to ancient custom, an annual sacrifice, had engaged themselves to succour the Tyrians. It was this made them so haughty. Firmly determined not to surrender, they fix machines on the ramparts and on the towers, arm their young

* Diod. l. xvii. p. 518—525. Arrian, l. ii. p. 87—100. Plut. in Alex. p. 678—697. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 2, 3, 4. Justin. l. xi. c. 10.

† Four furlongs.

men,

men, and build workhouſes for the artificers, of whom there were great numbers in the city; ſo that every part reſounded with the noiſe of warlike preparations. They likewiſe caſt iron grapples, to throw on the enemy's works, and tear them away; as alſo cramp-irons, and ſuch like inſtruments, invented for the defence of cities.

Alexander imagined that there were eſſential reaſons why he ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of Tyre. He was ſenſible that he could not invade Egypt eaſily, ſo long as the Perſians ſhould be maſters of the ſea; nor purſue Darius with ſafety, in caſe he ſhould leave behind him ſo large an extent of country, the inhabitants of which were either enemies, or ſuſpected to be ſo. He likewiſe was afraid, leſt ſome inſurrection ſhould break out in Greece; and that his enemies, after having retaken in his abſence the maritime cities of Aſia Minor, and increaſed their fleet, would make his country the ſeat of war, during his being employed in purſuing Darius in the plains of Babylon. Theſe apprehenſions were the more juſtly grounded, as the Lacedæmonians had declared openly againſt him, and the Athenians ſided with him more out of fear than affection. But, that in caſe he ſhould conquer Tyre, all Phœnicia being then ſubject to him, he would be able to diſpoſſeſs the Perſians of half their naval army, which conſiſted of the fleet of that province, and would ſoon make himſelf maſter of the iſland of Cyprus and of Egypt, which could not reſiſt him the inſtant he was become maſter at ſea.

On the other ſide, one would have imagined that, according to all the rules of war, Alexander, after the battle of Iſſus, ought to have purſued Darius vigorouſly, and neither given him an opportunity of recovering from the fright into which his defeat had thrown him, nor allowed him time to raiſe a new army; the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe, which appeared infallible, being the only thing that could make him formidable and ſuperior to all his enemies. Add to this, that in caſe Alexander ſhould not be able to take this city, which was not very unlikely, he would diſcredit his own arms, would loſe the fruit of his victories, and prove to the enemy that he was not invincible. But God, who had appointed this monarch to chaſtiſe the pride of Tyre, as will be ſeen hereafter, did not once permit theſe thoughts to enter his mind, but determined him to lay ſiege to the place, in ſpite of all the difficulties which oppoſed ſo hazardous a deſign, and the many reaſons which ſhould have prompted him to purſue quite different meaſures.

It

It was impoſſible to come near this city in order to ſtorm it, thout making a bank which ſhould reach from the continent the iſland; and an attempt of this kind would be attended th difficulties that were ſeemingly inſurmountable. The le arm of the ſea, which ſeparated the iſland from the con-ent, was expoſed to the weſt wind, which often raiſed ſuch eadful ſtorms there, that the waves would in an inſtant ſweep ay all works. Beſides, as the city was ſurrounded on all es by the ſea, there was no fixing ſcaling-ladders, nor rowing up batteries, but at a diſtance in the ſhips; and the ll, which projected into the ſea towards the lower part, evented people from landing; not to mention that the mi-ary engines, which might have been put on board the galleys, uld not do much execution, the waves were ſo very tumul-ous.

But nothing was capable of checking or vanquiſhing the re-ution of Alexander, who was determined to carry the city any rate. However, as the few veſſels he poſſeſſed lay at a eat diſtance from him, and the ſiege of ſo ſtrong a place ght poſſibly laſt a long time, and ſo retard his other enter-iſes, he thought proper to endeavour an accommodation. ccordingly, he ſent heralds, who propoſed a peace between lexander and their city; but theſe the Tyrians killed, con-ary to the law of nations, and threw them from the top of e walls into the ſea. Alexander, exaſperated at ſo cruel an trage, formed a reſolution at once, and employed his whole tention in raiſing a dyke. He found in the ruins of old Tyre, ich ſtood on the continent, and was called Palæ-Tyros, ma-ials to make piers, taking all the ſtones and rubbiſh from Mount Libanus, which was not far diſtant from it, ſo nous in ſcripture for its cedars, furniſhed him with wood for es, and other timber-work.

The ſoldiers began the pier with great alacrity, being ani-ted by the preſence of their ſovereign, who himſelf gave all the cedars; and who*, knowing perfectly how to in-uate himſelf into, and gain the affections of his troops, ex-ed ſome by praiſes, and others by ſlight reprimands, inter-ked with kind expreſſions, and ſoftened by promiſes. At t they advanced with pretty great ſpeed, the piles being ily drove into the ſlime, which ſerved as mortar for the nes; and as the place where theſe works were carrying on s at ſome diſtance from the city, they went on without in-ruption. But the farther they went from the ſhore, the

* Haud quaquam rudis tractandi militares animos. Q. Curt.

greater

greater difficulties they met with; becauſe the ſea was deep and the workmen were very much annoyed by the darts d charged from the top of the walls. The enemy, who w maſters of the ſea, coming forward in great boats, and razi every part of the dyke, prevented the Macedonians fr carrying it on with vigour. Then adding inſults to their tacks, they cried aloud to Alexander's ſoldiers, "That it w "a noble fight to ſee thoſe conquerors, whoſe names were "renowned all the world over, carrying burdens on their bac "like ſo many beaſts." And they would afterwards aſk the in a contemptuous tone of voice, "whether Alexander w "greater than Neptune; and if they pretended to prevail o "that god?"

But theſe taunts did but inflame the courage of the ſoldie At laſt the bank appeared above water, began to ſhow a le of a conſiderable breadth, and to approach the city. Th the beſieged perceiving with terror the vaſtneſs of the wo which the ſea had till then kept from their ſight, came their ſhip-boats in order to view the bank, which was not very firm. Theſe boats were full of ſlingers, bowmen, a others who hurled javelins, and even fire, and being ſpread the right and left about the bank, they ſhot on all ſides up the workmen, ſeveral of whom were wounded; it not be poſſible for them to ward off the blows, becauſe of the gr eaſe and ſwiftneſs with which the boats moved backwards a forwards; ſo that they were obliged to leave the work to fend themſelves. It was therefore reſolved, that ſkins a ſails ſhould be ſpread to cover the workmen; and that t wooden towers ſhould be raiſed at the head of the bank, prevent the approaches of the enemy.

On the other ſide, the Tyrians made a deſcent on the ſh out of the view of the camp, where they landed ſome foldi who cut to pieces thoſe that carried the ſtones; and on mo Libanus there alſo were ſome Arabian peaſants, who meet the Macedonians ſtraggling up and down, killed near th of them, and took very near the ſame number. Theſe l loſſes obliged Alexander to ſeparate his troops into differ bodies.

The beſieged, in the mean time, employed every inventi every ſtratagem that could be found, to ruin the enem works. They took a tranſport-veſſel, and filling it with bruſ and ſuch like dry materials, made a large incloſure near prow, wherein they threw all theſe things, with ſulphur, pitch, and other combuſtible matters. In the middle of

inclo

cloſure they ſet up two maſts, to each of which they fixed vo ſail-yards, on which were hung kettles full of oil, and ſuch ke unctuous ſubſtances. They afterwards loaded the hinder irt of the veſſel with ſtones and ſand, in order to raiſe the row; and taking advantage of a favourable wind, they towed to ſea by the aſſiſtance of their galleys. As ſoon as they ere come near the towers, they ſet fire to the veſſel in queſ- on, and drew it towards the point or extremity of the bank. n the mean time the ſailors, who were in it, leaped into the a, and ſwam away. Immediately the fire catched, with great olence, the towers, and the reſt of the works which were at ie head of the bank; and then the ſail-yards being drove ackwards and forwards, threw oil upon the fire, which very uch increaſed the flame. But to prevent the Macedonians om extinguiſhing it, the Tyrians, who were in their galleys, ere perpetually hurling at the towers fiery darts and burning rches, inſomuch that there was no approaching them. Se- ral Macedonians loſt their lives in a miſerable manner on the nk; being either ſhot through with arrows or burned to ath; whilſt others, throwing down their arms, leaped into ie ſea. But as they were ſwimming away, the Tyrians, ooſing to take them alive rather than kill them, maimed eir hands with clubs and ſtones; and after diſabling them, rried them off. At the ſame time the beſieged, coming out the city in little boats, beat down the edges of the bank, re up its ſtakes, and burned the reſt of the engines.

Alexander, though he ſaw moſt of his deſigns defeated, and is works demoliſhed, was not at all dejected upon that ac- ovnt. His ſoldiers endeavoured, with redoubled vigour, to re- air the ruins of the bank; and made and planted new machines ith ſo prodigious a ſpeed, as quite aſtoniſhed the enemy. lexander himſelf was preſent on all occaſions, and ſuperin- ended every part of the works. His preſence and great abi- ties advanced theſe ſtill more than the multitude of hands mployed in them. The whole was near finiſhed, and brought moſt to the wall of the city, when there aroſe on a ſudden n impetuous wind, which drove the waves with ſo much ury againſt the bank, that the cement and other things that ound it gave way, and the water ruſhing through the ſtones, roke it in the middle. As ſoon as the great heap of ſtones hich ſupported the earth was thrown down, the whole ſunk t once, as into an abyſs.

Any warrior but Alexander would that inſtant have quite id aſide his enterpriſe; and indeed he himſelf debated whe- ther

ther he ſhould not raiſe the ſiege. But a ſuperior power, who had foretold and ſworn the ruin of Tyre, and whoſe orders this prince only executed, prompted him to continue the ſiege, and, diſpelling all his fear and anxiety, inſpired him with courage and confidence, and fired the breaſts of his whole army with the ſame ſentiments. For now the ſoldiers, as if but that moment arrived before the city, forgetting all the toils they had undergone, began to raiſe a new mole, at which they worked inceſſantly.

Alexander was ſenſible, that it would not be poſſible for him either to complete the bank, or to take the city, as long as the Tyrians ſhould continue maſters at ſea. He therefore reſolved to aſſemble before Sidon his few remaining galleys. At the ſame time, the kings of Aradus* and Byblos, hearing that Alexander had conquered their cities, abandoned the Perſian fleet, joined him with theirs, and that of the Sidonians, which made in all 80 ſail. There arrived alſo, much about the ſame time, ten galleys from Rhodes, three from Solæ and Mallos, ten from Lycia, and one from Macedonia of fifty oars. A little after, the kings of Cyprus, hearing that the Perſian army had been defeated near the city of Iſſus and that Alexander had poſſeſſed himſelf of Phœnicia, brought him a reinforcement of upwards of 120 galleys.

The king, whilſt his ſoldiers were preparing the ſhips and engines, took ſome troops of horſe with his own regiment of guards, and marched towards a mountain of Arabia, called Antilibanus. The tender regard he had for an old gentleman formerly his tutor, who was abſolutely reſolved to follow his pupil, expoſed Alexander to very great danger. This was Lyſimachus, who gave the name of Achilles to his ſcholar and called himſelf Phœnix†. When the king was got to the foot of the mountain, he leaped from his horſe, and began to walk. His troops got a conſiderable way before him. It was already late, and Alexander not being willing to leave his preceptor, who was very corpulent, and ſcarce able to walk, he by that means was ſeparated from his little army, accompanied only by a very few ſoldiers; and in this manner ſpent the whole night very near the enemy, who were ſo numerous, that they might eaſily have overpowered him. However, his uſual good fortune and courage extricated him from his danger; ſo that coming up afterwards with his forces, he advanced forward into the country, took all the ſtrong places either by force or capitulation, and returned the eleventh day to Sidon, where

* Cities of Phœnicia.

† It is well known that Phœnix was governor to Achilles.

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he found Alexander, ſon of Polemocrates, who had brought him a reinforcement of 4000 Greeks from Peloponneſus.

The fleet being ready, Alexander took ſome ſoldiers from among his guards, and theſe he embarked with him, in order to employ them in cloſe fight with the enemy; and then ſet ſail towards Tyre in battle-array. He himſelf was at the point or extremity of the right wing, which extended itſelf towards the main ocean, being accompanied by the kings of Cyprus and Phœnicia; the left was commanded by Craterus. The Tyrians were at firſt determined to give battle; but after they heard of the uniting of theſe forces, and ſaw the army advance, which made a great appearance (for Alexander had halted to wait the coming up of his left wing), they kept all their galleys in the harbours, to prevent the enemy from entering them. When the king ſaw this, he advanced nearer the city; and finding it would be impoſſible for him to force the port which lay towards Sidon, becauſe of the great narrowneſs of the entrance, and its being defended by a large number of galleys, whoſe prows were turned towards the main ocean, he only ſunk three of them which lay without, and afterwards came to an anchor with his whole fleet, pretty near the bank, along the ſhore, where his ſhips rode in ſafety.

Whilſt all theſe things were doing, the new bank was carried on with great vigour. The workmen threw into the ſea whole trees, with all their branches on them, and laid great ſtones over theſe, on which they put other trees, and the latter they covered with clay, which ſerved inſtead of mortar. Afterwards heaping more trees and ſtones on theſe, the whole, thus joined together, formed one entire body. This bank was made wider than the former ones, in order that the towers that were built in the middle might be out of the reach of ſuch arrows as ſhould be ſhot from thoſe ſhips which might attempt to break down the edges of the bank. The beſieged, on the other ſide, exerted themſelves with extraordinary bravery, and did all that lay in their power to ſtop the progreſs of the work. But nothing was of ſo much ſervice to them as their divers, who, ſwimming under water, came unperceived quite up to the bank, and with hooks drew ſuch branches to them, as projected beyond the work; and pulling forward with great ſtrength, forced away every thing that was over them. This was one remora to the carrying on of the work; however, after many delays, the patience of the workmen ſurmounting every obſtacle, it was at laſt finiſhed in its utmoſt perfection. The Macedonians placed military engines of all

kinds on the bank, in order to ſhake the walls with battering rams, and hurl on the beſieged arrows, ſtones, and burning torches.

At the ſame time Alexander ordered the Cyprian fleet, commanded by Andromachus, to take its ſtation before the harbour which lay towards Sidon; and that of Phœnicia before the harbour on the other ſide of the bank facing Egypt, towards that part where his own tent was pitched; and enabled himſelf to attack the city on every ſide. The Tyrians, in their turn, prepared for a vigorous defence. On that ſide which lay towards the bank, they had erected towers on the wall, which was of a prodigious height, and of a proportionable breadth, the whole built with great ſtones cemented together with mortar. The acceſs to any other part was very near as difficult, the enemy having fenced the foot of the wall with great ſtones, to keep the Greeks from approaching it. The buſineſs then was, firſt to draw theſe away, which could not be done but with the utmoſt difficulty, becauſe, as the ſoldiers ſtood in ſhips, they could not keep very firm on their legs. Beſides, the Tyrians advanced with covered galleys, and cut the cables which held the ſhips at anchor; ſo that Alexander was obliged to cover, in like manner, ſeveral veſſels of 30 rowers each, and to ſtation theſe croſs-ways, to ſecure the anchors from the attacks of the Tyrian galleys: but ſtill divers came and cut them unperceived, ſo that they were at laſt forced to fix them with iron chains. After this, they drew theſe ſtones with cable-ropes, and carrying them off with engines, they were thrown to the bottom of the ſea, where it was not poſſible for them to do any further miſchief. The foot of the wall being thus cleared, the veſſels had very eaſy acceſs to it. In this manner the Tyrians were inveſted on all ſides, and attacked at the ſame time both by ſea and land.

The Macedonians had joined two and two galleys, with four men chained to each oar, in ſuch a manner, that the prows were faſtened, and the ſterns ſo far diſtant one from the other, as was neceſſary for the pieces of timber between them to be of a proper length. After this they threw from one ſtern to the other ſail-yards, which were faſtened together by planks laid croſs-ways, in order for the ſoldiers to ſtand faſt on the ſpace. The galleys being thus equipped, they rowed towards the city, and ſhot, under covert, againſt thoſe who defended the walls, the prows ſerving them as ſo many parapets. The king cauſed them to advance about midnight, in order to ſurround the walls, and make a general aſſault. The Tyrians now gave themſelves

themſelves up for loſt, when on a ſudden the ſky was overſpread with ſuch thick clouds, as quite took away the faint glimmerings of light which before darted through the gloom. The ſea riſes by inſenſible degrees; and the billows being ſwelled by the fury of the winds, riſe to a dreadful ſtorm. The veſſels daſh one againſt the other with ſo much violence, that the cables, which before faſtened them together, are either looſened, or break to pieces; the planks ſplit, and making a horrible craſh, carry off the ſoldiers with them; for the tempeſt was ſo furious, that it was not poſſible to manage or ſteer galleys thus faſtened together. The ſoldier was a hindrance to the ſailor, and the ſailor to the ſoldier; and, as it happens on ſuch occaſions, thoſe obeyed whoſe buſineſs it was to command; fear and anxiety throwing all things into confuſion. But now the rowers exerted themſelves with ſo much vigour, that they got the better of the ſea, and ſeemed to tear their ſhips out of the waves. At laſt they brought them near the ſhore, but the greateſt part in a ſhattered condition.

At the ſame time there arrived at Tyre 30 ambaſſadors from Carthage, who did not bring the leaſt ſuccours, though they had promiſed ſuch mighty things. Inſtead of this, they only made excuſes, declaring that it was with the greateſt grief the Carthaginians found themſelves abſolutely unable to aſſiſt the Tyrians in any manner: for that they themſelves were engaged in a war, not as * before for empire, but to ſave their country. And indeed the Syracuſans were lying waſte all Africa at that time with a powerful army, and had pitched their camp not far from the walls of Carthage. The Tyrians, though fruſtrated in this manner of the great hopes they had conceived, were no ways dejected. They only took the wiſe precaution to ſend moſt of their women and children to Carthage, in order that they themſelves might be in a condition to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity, and bear more courageouſly the greateſt calamities which might befall them, when they had once lodged, in a ſecure aſylum, what they moſt valued in the world.

There was in the city a brazen ſtatue of Apollo, of an enormous ſize. This Coloſſus had formerly ſtood in the city of Gela in Sicily. † The Carthaginians having taken it about the year 412 before Chriſt, had given it, by way of preſent, to the city of Tyre, which they always conſidered as the mother

* See Vol. I. in the Hiſtory of Carthage.

† Diod. l. xiii. p. 226.

of Carthage. The Tyrians had ſet it up in their city, and worſhip was paid to it. During the ſiege, on a dream which one of the citizens had, the Tyrians imagined that Apollo was determined to leave them, and go over to Alexander. Immediately they faſtened with a gold chain his ſtatue to Hercules's altar, to prevent the deity in queſtion from leaving them; for theſe people were ſilly enough to believe, that after his ſtatue was thus faſtened down, it would not be poſſible for him to make his eſcape; and that he would be prevented from doing ſo by Hercules, the tutelar god of the city. What a ſtrange idea the heathens had of their divinities!

Some of the Tyrians propoſed the reſtoring of a ſacrifice which had been diſcontinued for many ages; and this was, to ſacrifice a child born of free parents to Saturn. The Carthaginians, who had borrowed this ſacrilegious cuſtom from their founders, preſerved it till the deſtruction of their city; and had not the old men, who were inveſted with the greateſt authority in Tyre, oppoſed this cruelly-ſuperſtitious cuſtom, a child would have been butchered on this occaſion.

The Tyrians, finding their city expoſed every moment to be taken by ſtorm, reſolved to fall upon the Cyprian fleet, which lay at anchor off Sidon. They took the opportunity to do this at a time when the ſeamen of Alexander's fleet were diſperſed up and down, and when he himſelf was withdrawn to his tent, pitched on the ſea-ſhore. Accordingly, they came out, about noon, with 13 galleys, all manned with choice ſoldiers who were uſed to ſea-fights; and rowing with all their might, came thundering on the enemy's veſſels. Part of them they found empty, and the reſt had been manned in great haſte. Some of theſe they ſunk, and drove ſeveral of them againſt the ſhore, where they were daſhed to pieces. The loſs would have been ſtill greater, had not Alexander, the inſtant he heard of this ſally, advanced at the head of his whole fleet with all imaginable diſpatch againſt the Tyrians. However, theſe did not wait their coming up, but withdrew into the harbour, after having alſo loſt ſome of their ſhips.

And now the engines playing, the city was warmly attacked on all ſides, and as vigorouſly defended. The beſieged, taught and animated by imminent danger, and the extreme neceſſity to which they were reduced, invented daily new arts to defend themſelves, and repulſe the enemy. They warded off all the darts diſcharged from the baliſtas againſt them by the aſſiſtance of turning wheels, which either broke them to pieces, or carried them another way. The deadened the violence of

the

the ſtones that were hurled at them, by ſetting up a kind of ſails and curtains made of a ſoft ſubſtance, which eaſily gave way. To annoy the ſhips which advanced againſt their walls, they fixed grappling-irons and ſcythes to joiſts or beams; then ſtraining their catapultas, an enormous kind of croſs-bows, they laid thoſe great pieces of timber upon them inſtead of arrows, and ſhot them off on a ſudden at the enemy. Theſe cruſhed ſome to pieces by their great weight; and the hooks, or penſile ſcythes, with which they were armed, tore others to pieces, and did conſiderable damage to their ſhips. They alſo had brazen ſhields, which they drew red-hot out of the fire; and, filling theſe with burning-ſand, hurled them in an inſtant from the top of the wall upon the enemy. There was nothing the Macedonians ſo much dreaded as this laſt invention; for, the moment this burning ſand got to the fleſh, through the crevices in the armour, it pierced to the very bone, and ſtuck ſo cloſe, that there was no pulling it off; ſo that the ſoldiers, throwing down their arms, and tearing their clothes to pieces, were in this manner expoſed, naked and defenceleſs, to the ſhot of the enemy.

It was then Alexander, diſcouraged at ſo vigorous a defence, debated ſeriouſly, whether it would not be proper for him to raiſe the ſiege, and go for Egypt: for, after having over-run Aſia with prodigious rapidity, he found his progreſs unhappily retarded; and loſt, before a ſingle city, the opportunity of executing a great many projects of infinitely greater importance. On the other ſide, he conſidered that it would be a great blemiſh to his reputation, which had done him greater ſervice than his arms, ſhould he leave Tyre behind him, and thereby prove to the world, that he was not invincible. He therefore reſolved to make a laſt effort with a great number of ſhips, which he manned with the flower of his army. Accordingly, a ſecond naval engagement was fought, in which the Tyrians, after fighting with intrepidity, were obliged to draw off their whole fleet towards the city. The king purſued their rear very cloſe, but was not able to enter the harbour, being repulſed by arrows ſhot from the walls: however, he either took or ſunk a great number of their ſhips.

Alexander, after letting his forces repoſe themſelves two days, advanced his fleet and his engines, in order to attempt a general aſſault. Both the attack and defence were now more vigorous than ever. The courage of the combatants increaſed with the danger; and each ſide, animated by the moſt powerful motives, fought like lions. Wherever the battering-rams

had beat down any part of the wall, and the bridges were thrown out, inſtantly the Argyraſpides mounted the breach with the utmoſt valour, being headed by Admetus, one of the braveſt officers in the army, who was killed by the thruſt of a partiſan *, as he was encouraging his ſoldiers. The preſence of the king, and eſpecially the example he ſet, fired his troops with unuſual bravery. He himſelf aſcended one of the towers, which was of a prodigious height, and there was expoſed to the greateſt danger his courage had ever made him hazard; for, being immediately known by his inſignia and the richneſs of his armour, he ſerved as a mark for all the arrows of the enemy. On this occaſion he performed wonders; killing, with javelins, ſeveral of thoſe who defended the wall; then advancing nearer to them, he forced ſome with his ſword, and others with his ſhield, either into the city or the ſea; the tower where he fought almoſt touching the wall. He ſoon went over it, by the aſſiſtance of floating bridges, and followed by the nobility, poſſeſſed himſelf of two towers, and the ſpace between them. The battering-rams had already made ſeveral breaches; the fleet had forced into the harbour; and ſome of the Macedonians had poſſeſſed themſelves of the towers which were abandoned. The Tyrians, ſeeing the enemy maſter of their rampart, retired towards an open place, called Agenor, and there ſtood their ground; but Alexander marching up with his regiment of body-guards, killed part of them, and obliged the reſt to fly. At the ſame time, Tyre being taken on that ſide which lay towards the harbour, the Macedonians ran up and down every part of the city, ſparing no perſon who came in their way, being highly exaſperated at the long reſiſtance of the beſieged, and the barbarities they had exerciſed towards ſome of their comrades who had been taken in their return to Sidon, and thrown from the battlements, after their throats had been cut in the ſight of the whole army.

The Tyrians ſeeing themſelves overpowered on all ſides, ſome fly to the temple, to implore the aſſiſtance of the gods; others, ſhutting themſelves in their houſes, eſcape the ſword of the conqueror by a voluntary death; in fine, others ruſh upon the enemy, firmly reſolved to ſell their lives at the dearеſt rate. Moſt of the citizens were got on the houſe-tops, whence they threw ſtones, and whatever came firſt to hand, upon ſuch as advanced forward into the city. The king gave orders for killing all the inhabitants, thoſe excepted who had

* A kind of halbert.

ſheltered

ſheltered themſelves in the temples, and to ſet fire to every part of Tyre. Although this order was publiſhed by ſound of trumpet, yet not one perſon who carried arms flew to the aſylums. The temples were filled with ſuch old men and children only as had remained in the city. The old men waited at the doors of their houſes, in expectation every inſtant of being ſacrificed to the rage of the ſoldiers. It is true, indeed, that the Sidonian ſoldiers, who were in Alexander's camp, ſaved great numbers of them; for having entered the city indiſcriminately with the conquerors, and calling to mind their ancient affinity with the Tyrians (Agenor having founded both Tyre and Sidon), they, for that reaſon, carried off great numbers privately on board their ſhips, and conveyed them to Sidon. By this kind deceit, 15,000 were ſaved from the rage of the conqueror; and we may judge of the greatneſs of the ſlaughter, from the number of the ſoldiers who were cut to pieces on the rampart of the city only, who amounted to 6000. However, the king's anger not being fully appeaſed, he exhibited a ſcene which appeared dreadful even to the conquerors; for 2000 men remaining after the ſoldiers had been glutted with ſlaughter, Alexander cauſed them to be fixed upon croſſes along the ſea-ſhore. He pardoned the ambaſſadors of Carthage, who were come to their metropolis, to offer up a ſacrifice to Hercules, according to annual cuſtom. The number of priſoners, both foreigners and citizens, amounted to 30,000, who were all ſold. As for the Macedonians, their loſs was very inconſiderable.

* Alexander himſelf ſacrificed to Hercules, and conducted the ceremony with all his land-forces under arms, in concert with the fleet. He alſo ſolemnized gymnaſtic exerciſes in honour of the ſame god, in the temple dedicated to him. With regard to the ſtatue of Apollo above-mentioned, he took off the chains from it, reſtored to it its former liberty, and commanded that this god ſhould thenceforwards be ſurnamed Philaxander, that is, the friend of Alexander. If we may believe Timæus, the Greeks began to pay him this ſolemn worſhip, for having occaſioned the taking of Tyre, which happened the day and hour that the Carthaginians had carried off this ſtatue from Gela. The city of Tyre was taken about the end of September, after having ſuſtained a ſeven-months ſiege.

Thus were accompliſhed the menaces which God had pronounced by the mouth of his prophets againſt the city of Tyre.

* A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332.

Nabuchodonoſor

* Nabuchodonosor had begun to execute those threats, by besieging and taking it; and they were completed by the sad catastrophe we have here described. As this double event forms one of the most considerable passages in history, and that the scriptures have given us several very remarkable circumstances of it, I shall endeavour to unite here, in one view, all that they relate concerning the city of Tyre, its power, riches, haughtiness, and irreligion: the different punishments with which God chastised its pride and other vices; in fine, its last re-establishment, but in a manner entirely different from that of others. Methinks, I revive on a sudden, when, through the multitude of profane histories which heathen antiquity furnishes, and in every part whereof there reigns an entire oblivion, not to say more, of the Almighty, the sacred scriptures exhibit themselves, and unfold to me the secret designs of God over kingdoms and empires; and teach me what idea we are to form of those things which appear the most worthy of esteem, the most august in the eyes of men.

But before I relate the prophecies concerning Tyre, I shall here present the reader with a little extract of the history of that famous city, by which he will be the better enabled to understand the prophecies.

† Tyre was built by the Sidonians, 240 years before the building of the temple of Jerusalem: for this reason it is called by Isaiah, The Daughter of Sidon. It soon surpassed its mother city in extent, power, and riches.

‡ It was besieged by Salmanaser, and alone resisted the united fleets of the Assyrians and Phœnicians; a circumstance which greatly heightened its pride.

§ Nabuchodonosor laid siege to Tyre, at the time that Ithobalus was king of that city; but did not take it till 13 years after. But before it was conquered, the inhabitants had retired, with most of their effects, into a neighbouring island, where they built a new city. The old one was razed to the very foundations, and has since been no more than a village, known by the name of Palæ-Tyrus, or Ancient Tyre: but the new one rose to greater power than ever.

It was in this great and flourishing condition, when Alexander besieged and took it. And here begins the 70 years

* Or Nebuchadnezzar, as he is called in our version.
† A. M. 2992. Ant. J. C. 1112. Joseph. Antiq. l. viii. c. 3.
‡ A. M. 3285. Ant. J. C. 719. Ibid. l. ix. c. 14.
§ A. M. 3432. Ant. J. C. 572. Ibid. l. x. c. 11.

of

of obſcurity and oblivion in which it was to lie, according to Iſaiah. It was indeed ſoon repaired, becauſe the Sidonians, who entered the city with Alexander's army, ſaved 15,000 of their citizens, as was before obſerved, who, after their return, applied themſelves to traffic, and repaired the ruins of their country with incredible application; beſides which, the women and children, who had been ſent to Carthage, and lodged in a place of ſafety, returned to it at the ſame time. But Tyre was confined to the iſland in which it ſtood; its trade extended no farther than the neighbouring cities, and it had loſt the empire of the ſea; and when, eighteen years after, Antigonus beſieged it with a ſtrong fleet, we do not find that the Tyrians had any maritime forces to oppoſe him. This ſecond ſiege, which reduced it a ſecond time to captivity, plunged it into the ſtate of oblivion from which it endeavoured to extricate itſelf; and this oblivion continued the exact time foretold by Iſaiah.

This term of years being expired, Tyre recovered its former credit, and at the ſame time reſumed its former vices; till at laſt, converted by the preaching of the goſpel, it became a holy and religious city. The ſacred writings acquaint us with part of theſe revolutions, and this is what we are now to ſhow.

* Tyre, before the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, was conſidered as one of the moſt ancient and flouriſhing cities of the world. Its induſtry and very advantageous ſituation had raiſed it to the ſovereignty of the ſeas, and made it the centre of all the trade in the univerſe. From the extreme parts of Arabia, Perſia, and India, to the moſt remote weſtern coaſts; from Scythia, and the northern countries, to Egypt, Ethiopia, and the ſouthern countries, all nations contributed to the increaſe of its riches, ſplendor, and power. Not only the ſeveral things uſeful and neceſſary to ſociety which thoſe various regions produced, but whatever they had of a rare, curious, magnificent, or precious kind, and beſt adapted to the ſupport of luxury and pride; all theſe, I ſay, were brought to its markets. And Tyre, on the other ſide, as from a common ſource, diſperſed this varied abundance over all kingdoms, and infected them with its corrupt manners, by inſpiring mankind with a love for eaſe, vanity, luxury, and voluptuouſneſs.

† A long, uninterrupted ſeries of proſperities had ſwelled

* Ezek. xxvi. and xxvii. throughout. Ezek. xxvii. 4—25.

† Ezek. xxvi. 17. xxvii. 3, 4, 25—32, 33.

the

the pride of Tyre. She delighted to conſider herſelf as the queen of cities; a queen whoſe head is adorned with a diadem; whoſe correſpondents are illuſtrious princes; whoſe rich traders diſpute for ſuperiority with kings; who ſees every maritime power, either as her allies or dependants; and who made herſelf neceſſary or formidable to all nations.

Tyre had now filled up the meaſure of her iniquity, by her impiety againſt God, and her barbarity exerciſed againſt his people. She had rejoiced over the ruins of Jeruſalem, in the inſulting words following. "*Behold then the gates of this "ſo populous city are broken down. Her inhabitants ſhall "come to me, and I will enrich myſelf with her ſpoils, now "ſhe is laid waſte." †She was not ſatisfied with having reduced the Jews to a ſtate of captivity, notwithſtanding the alliance between them; with ſelling them to the Gentiles, and delivering them up to their moſt cruel enemies: ‡She likewiſe had ſeized upon the inheritance of the Lord, and carried away from his temple the moſt precious things, to enrich therewith the temples of her idols.

§ This profanation and cruelty drew down the vengeance of God upon Tyre. God is reſolved to deſtroy her, becauſe ſhe relied ſo much upon her own ſtrength, her wiſdom, her riches, and her alliances. He therefore brought againſt her Nabuchodonoſor, that king of kings, to overflow her with his mighty hoſts, as with waters that overſpread their banks, in order to demoliſh her ramparts, to ruin her proud palaces, to deliver up her merchandiſes and treaſures to the ſoldiers, and to raze Tyre to the very foundations, after having ſet fire to it, and either extirpated or diſperſed all its inhabitants.

‖ By this ſo unexpected a fall, the Almighty will teach the aſtoniſhed nations, that he more evidently diſplays his providence by the moſt incredible revolutions of ſtates; and that his will only directs the enterpriſes of men, and guides them as he pleaſes, in order to humble the proud.

But Tyre, after ſhe had recovered her loſſes, and repaired her ruins, forgot her former ſtate of humiliation, and the guilt which had reduced her to it. ** She ſtill was puffed up with the glory of poſſeſſing the empire of the ſea; of being the ſeat of univerſal commerce; of giving birth to the moſt famous

* Ezek. xxvii. 2. † Joel iii. 2—8. Amos i. 9, 10.
‡ Joel iii. 2, 4, 7. Amos i. 9, 10.
§ Jerem. xlvii. 2, 6. Ezek. xxvi. 3—12. and 19. xxvii. 27, 34.
‖ Ezek. xxvi. 15, 18. and xxvii. 33, 36. Iſa. xxiii. 8, 9.
** Iſa. xxiii. 3, 4, 7, 8, 12.

colonies;

colonies; of having within her walls merchants, whose credit, riches, and splendor, equalled them to the princes and great men of the earth; * of being governed by a monarch, who might justly be entitled god of the sea; of tracing back her origin to the most remote antiquity; of having acquired, by a long series of ages, a kind of eternity; and of having a right to promise herself another such eternity in times to come.

† But since this city, corrupted by pride, by avarice, and luxury, has not profited by the first lesson which God had given her, in the person of the king of Babylon; and that, after being oppressed by all the forces of the East, she still would not learn to confide no longer in the false and imaginary supports of her own greatness; ‡ God foretels her another chastisement, which he will send upon her from the west, near 400 years after the first. § Her destruction will come from Chittim, that is, Macedonia; from a kingdom so weak and obscure, that it had been despised a few years before; a kingdom whence she could never have expected such a blow. "Tyre, possessed with an opinion of her own wisdom, and "proud of her fleets, of her immense riches, which she heaped "up as mire in the streets," and also protected by the whole power of the Persian empire, does not imagine she has any thing to fear from those new enemies, who being situated at a great distance from her, without either money, strength, or reputation; having neither harbours nor ships, and being quite unskilled in navigation; cannot therefore, as she imagines, annoy her with their land-forces. ‖ Tyre looks upon herself as impregnable, because she is defended by lofty fortifications, and surrounded on all sides by the sea as with a moat and a girdle: Nevertheless Alexander, by filling up the arm of the sea which separates her from the continent, will force off her girdle, and demolish those ramparts which served her as a second inclosure.

Tyre, thus dispossessed of her dignity as queen and as a free city, boasting no more her diadem nor her girdle, will be reduced during 70 years, to the mean condition of a slave. "**The Lord hath purposed it, to stain the pride of all glory, "and to bring into contempt all the honourable of the earth." †† Her fall will drag after it the ruin of trade in general, and she will prove to all cities a subject of sorrow and groans, by

* Ezek. xxviii. 2.
‡ Ibid. xxiii. 11, 12, 13.
‖ Isa. xxiii. 10, 11, 13.
†† Ibid. 1, 11, 14.
† Isa. xxiii. 13.
§ 1 Maccab. i. 1 Zech. ix. 2. 5.
** Isa. xxiii. 9.

making

making them lose the present means and the future hopes of enriching themselves.

* To prove, in a sensible manner, to Tyre, that the prophecy concerning her ruin is not incredible, and that all the strength and wisdom of man can no ways ward off or suspend the punishment which God has prepared for the pride and the abuse of riches, Isaiah sets before her the example of Babylon, whose destruction ought to have been an example to her. † This city, in which Nimrod laid the foundations of his empire, was the most ancient, the most populous, and embellished with more edifices, both public and private, than any other city. She was the capital of the first empire that ever existed, and was founded, in order to command over the whole earth, which seemed to be inhabited only by families, which she had brought forth and sent out as so many colonies, whose common parent she was. Nevertheless, says the prophet, she is no more, neither Babylon nor her empire. The citizens of Babylon had multiplied their ramparts and citadels, to render even the besieging it impracticable. The inhabitants had raised pompous palaces, to make their names immortal; but all these fortifications were but as so many dens, in the eyes of Providence, for wild beasts to dwell in; and these edifices were doomed to fall to dust, or else to sink to humble cottages.

After so signal an example, continues the prophet, shall Tyre, which is so much inferior to Babylon in many respects, dare to hope that the menaces pronounced by heaven against her, *viz.* to deprive her of the empire of the sea, and destroy her fleets, will not be fulfilled?

‡ To make her the more strongly sensible how much she has abused her prosperity, God will reduce her to a state of humiliation and oblivion during 70 years. § But after this season of obscurity, she will again endeavour to appear with the air of an harlot, whose charms and artifices she shall assume; she will employ her utmost endeavours to corrupt youth, and sooth their passions. To promote her commerce, she will use fraud, deceit, and the most insidious arts. She will visit every part of the world, to collect the most rare and most de-

* Isa. xiii. 13, 14.

† Behold the land of the Chaldeans; this people was not till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness: They set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof, and he brought it to ruin. Howl, ye ships of Tarshish: For your strength is laid waste. Isa. xxiii. 13. 14.

‡ Isa. xxiii. 15. § Ibid. 16.

licious

licious products of every country; to inspire the various nations of the universe with a love and admiration for superfluities and splendor; and fill them with an aversion for the simplicity and frugality of their ancient manners. And she will set every engine at work, to renew her ancient treaties; to recover the confidence of her former correspondents; and to compensate, by a speedy abundance, the sterility of 70 years.

* Thus, in proportion as the Almighty shall give Tyre an opportunity of recovering her trade and credit, she shall return to her former shameful traffic, which God had ruined, by stripping her of the great possessions she had applied to such pernicious uses.

†But at last, Tyre, converted by the gospel, shall no more be a scandal and a stumbling-block to nations. She shall no longer sacrifice her labour to the idolatry of wealth, but to the worship of the Lord, and the comfort of those that serve him. She shall no longer render her riches barren and useless by detaining them; but shall scatter them, like fruitful seed, from the hands of believers and ministers of the gospel.

One of God's designs, in the prophecies just now cited, is to give us a just idea of a traffic, whose only motive is avarice, and whose fruits are pleasures, vanity, and immorality. Mankind look upon cities enriched with a commerce like that of Tyre (and it is the same with private persons) as happier than any other; as worthy of envy, and as fit, from their industry, labour, and the success of their applications and conduct, to be proposed as patterns for the rest to copy after: But God, on the contrary, exhibits them to us under the shameful image of a woman lost to all sense of virtue; as a woman, whose only view is to seduce and corrupt youth; who only sooths the passions and flatters the senses; who abhors modesty and every sentiment of honour; and who, banishing from her countenance every characteristic of chastity, glories in ignominy. We are not to infer from hence, that traffic is sinful in itself; but we should separate from the essential foundation of trade, which is just and lawful when rightly used, the passions of men which intermix with, and by that means pervert the order and end of it. Tyre, converted to Christianity, teaches merchants in what manner they are to carry on their traffic, and the uses to which they ought to apply their profits.

* Isa. xxiii, 17. † Ibid. 18.

## SECTION VII.

### ALEXANDER'S JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM.—HE SUBDUES EGYPT.—IS DECLARED SON OF JUPITER.

WHILST Alexander was carrying on the ſiege of Tyre*, he had received a ſecond letter from Darius, who at laſt gave him the title of king. "He offered him 10,000 talents "(30 millions) as a ranſom for the captive princeſſes, and "his daughter Statira in marriage, with all the country he "had conquered as far as the Euphrates. Darius hinted to "him the inconſtancy of fortune; and deſcribed, in the moſt "pompous terms, the numberleſs troops who were ſtill under "his command. Could he (Alexander) think, that it was ſo "very eaſy to croſs the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes, "and the Hydaſpes, which were as ſo many bulwarks to the "Perſian empire? That he ſhould not be always ſhut up be-"tween rocks and paſſes: That they ought both to appear in "a plain, and that then Alexander would be aſhamed to come "before him with only a handful of men." The king hereupon ſummoned a council, in which Parmenio was of opinion, that he ought to accept of thoſe offers, declaring he himſelf would agree to them, were he Alexander. "And ſo would "I," replied Alexander, "were I Parmenio." He therefore returned the following anſwer; "That he did not "want the money Darius offered him: That it did not "become Darius to offer a thing he no longer poſſeſſed, or to "pretend to diſtribute what he had entirely loſt. That in "caſe he was the only perſon who did not know which of "them was ſuperior, a battle would ſoon determine it. That "he ſhould not think to intimidate with rivers, a man who had "croſſed ſo many ſeas. That to whatſoever place he might "find it proper to retire, Alexander would not fail to find him "out:" Darius, upon receiving this anſwer, loſt all hopes of accommodation, and prepared again for war.

† From Tyre Alexander marched to Jeruſalem, firmly reſolved to ſhow it no more favour than he had done the former city; and for this reaſon: the Tyrians were ſo much employed in traffic, that they quite neglected huſbandry, and brought moſt of their corn and other proviſions from the countries in their neighbourhood. ‡ Galilea, Samaria, and Judea, furniſhed them with the greateſt quantities. At the ſame time

* Plut. in Alex. p. 681. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 5. Arrian, l. ii. p. 101.
† Joſeph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 8. ‡ Acts xii. 20.

that

that Alexander laid siege to their city, he himself was obliged to send for provisions from those countries: he therefore sent commissaries to summon the inhabitants to submit, and furnish his army with whatever they might want. The Jews, however, desired to be excused, alleging that they had taken an oath of fidelity to Darius; and persisted in answering, that they would never acknowledge any other sovereign as long as he was living: a rare example of fidelity, and worthy of the only people who in that age acknowledged the true God! The Samaritans, however, did not imitate them in this particular; for they submitted with cheerfulness to Alexander, and even sent him 8000 men, to serve at the siege of Tyre and in other places. For the better understanding of what follows, it may be necessary for us to present the reader, in few words, with the state of the Samaritans at that time, and the cause of the strong antipathy between them and the Jews.

I observed * elsewhere that the Samaritans did not descend from the Israelites, but were a colony of idolaters, taken from the countries on the other side of the Euphrates, whom Asaraddon, king of the Assyrians, had sent to inhabit the cities of Samaria, after the ruin of the kingdom of the ten tribes. These people, who were called Cuthæi, blended the worship of the God of Israel with that of their idols; and on all occasions discovered an enmity to the Jews. This hatred was much stronger after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, before and after the restoration of the temple.

Notwithstanding the reformation which the holy man Nehemiah had wrought in Jerusalem, with regard to the marrying of strange or foreign women, the evil had spread so far, that the high-priest's house, which ought to have been preserved more than any other from these criminal mixtures, was itself polluted with them. † One of the sons of Jehoida the high-priest, whom Josephus calls Manasses, had married the daughter of Sanaballat the Heronite; and many more had followed his example. But Nehemiah, zealous for the law of God, which was so shamefully violated, commanded, without exception, all who had married strange women, either to put them away immediately, or depart the country. ‡ Manasses chose to go into banishment rather than separate himself from his wife, and accordingly withdrew to Samaria, whither he was followed by great numbers as rebellious as himself; he there

* Vol. II. of the Assyrians.

† 2 Esd. xiii. 28.

‡ Joseph. Antiq.

ſettled them under the protection of Sanaballat, his father-in-law, who was governor of that country.

The latter obtained of Darius Nothus, whom probably the war which broke out between Egypt and Perſia had forced into Phœnicia, leave to build on mount Garizim, near Samaria, a temple like that of Jeruſalem, and to appoint Manaſſes, his ſon-in-law, prieſt thereof. From that time, Samaria became the aſylum of all the malcontents of Judea. And it was this that raiſed the hatred of the Jews againſt the Samaritans to its greateſt height, when they ſaw that the latter, notwithſtanding the expreſs prohibition of the law, which fixed the ſolemn worſhip of the God of Iſrael in the city of Jeruſalem, had nevertheleſs raiſed altar againſt altar, and temple againſt temple; and refuged all who fled from Jeruſalem, to ſcreen themſelves from the puniſhment which would have been inflicted on them for violating the law.

Such was the ſtate of Judea, when Alexander laid ſiege to Tyre. The Samaritans, as we before obſerved, had ſent him a conſiderable body of troops; whereas the Jews thought they could not ſubmit to him, as long as Darius, to whom they had taken an oath of allegiance, ſhould be alive.

Alexander, being little uſed to ſuch an anſwer, particularly after he had obtained ſo many victories, and thinking that all things ought to bow before him, reſolved, the inſtant he had conquered Tyre, to march againſt the Jews, and puniſh their diſobedience as rigorouſly as he had done that of the Tyrians.

In this imminent danger, Jaddus, the high-prieſt, who governed under the Perſians, ſeeing himſelf expoſed, with all the inhabitants, to the wrath of the conqueror, had recourſe to the protection of the Almighty, gave orders for the offering up public prayers to implore his aſſiſtance, and made ſacrifices. The night after, God appeared to him in a dream, and bid him "to cauſe flowers to be ſcattered up and down the "city; to ſet open all the gates, and go, clothed in his pontifical robes, with all the prieſts dreſſed alſo in their veſtments, "and all the reſt clothed in white, to meet Alexander, and "not to fear any evil from that king, inaſmuch as he would "protect them." This command was punctually obeyed; and accordingly this auguſt proceſſion, the very day after, marched out of the city to an eminence called Sapha*, whence

* The Hebrew word, Sapha, ſignifies to diſcover from far, as from a tower, or ſentry-box.

there

there was a view of all the plain, as well as of the temple and city of Jeruſalem. Here the whole proceſſion waited the arrival of Alexander.

The Syrians and Phœnicians who were in his army, were perſuaded that the wrath of this prince was ſo great, that he would certainly puniſh the high-prieſt after an exemplary manner, and deſtroy that city in the ſame manner as he had done Tyre; and, flushed with joy upon that account, they waited in expectation of glutting their eyes with the calamities of a people to whom they bore a mortal hatred. As ſoon as the Jews heard of the king's approach, they ſet out to meet him with all the pomp before deſcribed. Alexander was ſtruck at the ſight of the high-prieſt, in whoſe mitre and forehead a golden plate was fixed, on which the name of God was written. The moment the king perceived the high-prieſt, he advanced towards him with an air of the moſt profound reſpect, bowed his body, adored the auguſt name upon his front, and ſaluted him who wore it with a religious veneration. Then the Jews, ſurrounding Alexander, raiſed their voices to wiſh him every kind of proſperity. All the ſpectators were ſeized with inexpreſſible ſurpriſe; they could ſcarce believe their eyes, and did not know how to account for a ſight ſo contrary to their expectation, and ſo vaſtly improbable.

Parmenio, who could not yet recover from his aſtoniſhment, aſked the king how it came to paſs that he, who was adored by every one, adored the high-prieſt of the Jews. "I "do not," replied Alexander, "adore the high-prieſt, but "the God whoſe miniſter he is; for whilſt I was at Dia in "Macedonia (my mind wholly fixed on the great deſign of "the Perſian war) as I was revolving the methods how to "conquer Aſia, this very man, dreſſed in the ſame robes, ap"peared to me in a dream, exhorted me to baniſh every fear, "bid me croſs the Helleſpont boldly, and aſſured me that "God would march at the head of my army, and gave me "the victory over that of the Perſians." Alexander added, that the inſtant he ſaw this prieſt, he knew him by his habit, his ſtature, his air, and his face, to be the ſame perſon whom he had ſeen at Dia; that he was firmly perſuaded, it was by the command, and under the immediate conduct of heaven, that he had undertaken this war; that he was ſure he ſhould overcome Darius hereafter, and deſtroy the empire of the Perſians; and that this was the reaſon why he adored this God in the perſon of his prieſt. Alexander, after having thus anſwered Parmenio, embraced the high-prieſt, and all his bre-

thren; then walking in the midſt of them, he arrived at Jeruſalem, where he offered ſacrifices to God, in the temple, after the manner preſcribed to him by the high-prieſt.

The high-prieſt afterwards ſhowed him thoſe paſſages in the prophecy of Daniel, which are ſpoken of that monarch. I ſhall here give an extract of them, to ſhow how conſpicuouſly the moſt diſtant events are preſent to the Creator.

* God manifeſts, by the prophecy of Daniel, that grandeur, empire, and glory, are his; that he beſtows them on whomſoever he pleaſes, and withdraws them, in like manner, to puniſh the abuſe of them; that his wiſdom and power ſolely determine the courſe of events in all ages; † that he changes, by the mere effect of his will, the whole face of human affairs; that he ſets up new kingdoms, overthrows the ancient ones, and effaces them, even to the very footſteps of them, with the ſame eaſe as the wind carries off the ſmalleſt chaff from the threſhing-floor.

‡ God's deſign in ſubjecting ſtates to ſuch aſtoniſhing revolutions, is to teach men, that they are in his preſence as nothing; that he alone is the moſt high, the eternal king, the ſovereign arbiter; who acts as he pleaſes, with ſupreme power, both in heaven and in earth. § For the putting this deſign in execution, the prophet ſees an auguſt council, in which the angels being appointed as ſpectators and overſeers of governments and kings, inquire into the uſe which theſe make of the authority that heaven intruſted them with, in quality of his miniſters; and when they abuſe it, theſe || ſpirits, zealous for the glory of their ſovereign, beſeech God to puniſh their injuſtice and ingratitude; and to humble their pride, by caſting them from the throne, and reducing them to the moſt abject among mankind.

** God, to make theſe important truths ſtill more ſenſible, ſhows Daniel four dreadful beaſts who riſe from a vaſt ſea, in which the four winds combat together with fury; and, under theſe ſymbols, he repreſents to the prophet the origin, the characteriſtics, and fall of the four great empires, which are to govern the whole world ſucceſſively. A dreadful, but too real image! For empires riſe out of noiſe and confuſion; they ſubſiſt in blood and ſlaughter; they exerciſe their power with

* Dan. ii. 20, 21. 37. † Ibid. 35.
‡ Dan. iv. 32. 34, 35, 36. § Ibid. 14.
|| It was at the deſire of theſe angels, that Nabuchodonoſor was driven from the ſociety of men to herd with wild beaſts.
** Dan. vii. 2, 3.

violence

violence and cruelty; they think it glorious to carry terror and desolation into all places; but yet, in spite of their utmost efforts, they are subject to continual vicissitudes, and unforeseen destruction.

* The prophet then relates more particularly the character of each of these empires. After having represented the empire of the Babylonians under the image of a lioness, and that of the Medes and Persians under the form of a bear greedy of prey, he draws the picture of the Grecian monarchy, by presenting us with such of its characteristics, as it is more immediately known by. Under the image of a spotted leopard, with four heads and four wings, he shadows Alexander, intermixed with good and bad qualities; rash and impetuous in his resolutions, rapid in his conquests, flying with the swiftness of a bird of prey, rather than marching with the weight of an army laden with the whole equipage of war; supported by the valour and capacity of his generals, four of whom, after having assisted him in conquering his empire, divide it among themselves.

† To this picture the prophet adds elsewhere new touches. He enumerates the order of the succession of the kings of Persia; he declares, in precise terms, that after the three first kings, *viz.* Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius, a fourth monarch will arise, who is Xerxes; and that he will exceed all his predecessors in power and in riches; that this prince, puffed with the idea of his own grandeur, which shall have rose to its highest pitch, will assemble all the people in his boundless dominions, and lead them to the conquest of Greece. But as the prophet takes notice only of the march of this multitude, and does not tell us what success they met with, he thereby gives us pretty clearly to understand, that Xerxes, a soft, injudicious, and fearful prince, will not have the least success in any of his projects.

‡ On the contrary, from among the Greeks in question, attacked unsuccessfully by the Persians, there will arise a king of a genius and turn of mind quite different from that of Xerxes; and this is Alexander the Great. He shall be a bold, valiant monarch; he shall succeed in all his enterprises; he shall extend his dominion far and wide, and shall establish an irresistible power on the ruins of the vanquished nations: but at a time when he shall imagine himself to be most firmly seated on the throne, he shall lose his life with the regal dignity, and

* Dan. vii. 4, 5, 6. † Ibid. xi. 2. ‡ Ibid. 3, 4.

not

not leave any poſterity to ſucceed him in it. This new monarchy, loſing on a ſudden the ſplendor and power for which it was ſo renowned under Alexander, ſhall divide itſelf towards the four winds of heaven. From its ruins there ſhall ariſe not only four great kingdoms, Egypt, Syria, Aſia Minor, and Macedon, but alſo ſeveral other foreigners, or barbarians, ſhall uſurp its provinces, and form kingdoms out of theſe.

* In fine, in the eighth chapter, the prophet completes the deſcription in ſtill ſtronger colours, the character, the battles, the ſeries of ſucceſſes, the riſe and fall of theſe two rival empires. By the image he gives of a powerful ram, having two horns of an unequal length, he declares that the firſt of theſe empires ſhall be compoſed of Perſians and Medes; that its ſtrength ſhall conſiſt in the union of theſe two nations; that the Perſians ſhall nevertheleſs exceed the Medes in authority; that they ſhall have a ſeries of conqueſts, without meeting with any oppoſition; that they ſhall firſt extend them towards the weſt, by ſubduing the Lydians, the provinces of Aſia Minor, and Thrace; that they ſhall afterwards turn their arms towards the north, in order to ſubdue part of Scythia, and the nations bordering on the Caſpian Sea; in fine, that they ſhall endeavour to enlarge their dominions towards the ſouth, by ſubjecting Egypt and Arabia; but that they ſhall not invade the nations of the eaſt.

The monarchy of the Greeks is afterwards exhibited to Daniel, under the ſymbol of a he-goat of a prodigious ſize; he perceives that the Macedonian army will march from the weſt, in order to invade the empire of the Perſians; that it will be headed by a warrior famous for his power and glory; that it will take immenſe marches in queſt of the enemy, even into the very heart of his dominions; that it ſhall advance towards this enemy with ſuch rapidity, that it will ſeem only to ſkim the ground; that it will give this empire its mortal wound; entirely ſubvert it by repeated victories, and deſtroy the double power of the Perſians and Medes; during which not one monarch, whether its ally or neighbour, ſhall give it the leaſt ſuccour.

But as ſoon as this monarchy ſhall have roſe to its greateſt height, Alexander, who formed its greateſt ſtrength, ſhall be ſnatched from it; and then there will ariſe, towards the four parts of the world, four Grecian monarchies, which, though vaſtly inferior to that of Alexander, will, however, be very conſiderable.

* Dan. viii.

Can

Can any thing be more wonderful, more divine, than a ſeries of prophecies, all of them ſo clear, ſo exact, and ſo circumſtantial; prophecies, which go ſo far as to point out, that a prince ſhall die without leaving a ſingle ſucceſſor from among his own family, and that four of his generals will divide his empire between them? But we muſt peruſe theſe prophecies in the ſcriptures themſelves. The Vulgate agrees, a few places excepted, pretty nearly with the Hebrew, which I ſhall tranſlate * agreeable to the original text.

" † In the third year of the reign of the king Belſhazzar, a " viſion appeared unto me, even unto me Daniel, after that " which appeared unto me at the firſt. And I ſaw in a viſion, " and it came to paſs when I ſaw, that I was at Shuſhan in the " palace, which is in the province of Elam, and I ſaw in a " viſion, and I was by the river of Ulai. Then I lifted up " mine eyes, and ſaw, and behold there ſtood before the river " a RAM, which had two horns, and the two horns were high: " but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up " laſt. I ſaw the ram puſhing weſtward, and northward, and " ſouthward: ſo that no beaſts might ſtand before him, nei- " ther was there any that could deliver out of his hand, but " he did according to his will, and became great. And as I " was conſidering, behold, an he-goat came from the weſt, on " the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground; " and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And " he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had ſeen " ſtanding before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of " his power. And I ſaw him come cloſe unto the ram, and " he was moved with choler againſt him, and ſmote the ram, " and brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram, " to ſtand before him, but he caſt him down to the ground, " and ſtamped upon him: and there was none that could de- " liver the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he-goat waxed " very great, and when he was ſtrong, the great horn was " broken; and from it came out four notable ones towards the " four winds of heaven."

A great number of very important reflections might be made on the prophecies I have now repeated: but theſe I ſhall leave to the reader's underſtanding and religion, and will make but one remark; on which however I ſhall not expatiate ſo much as the ſubject might deſerve.

* We have not followed Mr. Rollin's tranſlation here, believing it more proper to make uſe of our own verſion of the Bible.

† Dan. viii. 1—8.

The

The Almighty preſides in general over all events which happen in the world; and rules, with abſolute ſway, the fate of all men in particular, of all cities, and of all empires; but then he conceals the operations of his wiſdom, and the wonders of his providence, beneath the veil of natural cauſes and ordinary events. All that profane hiſtory exhibits to us, whether ſieges, or the conqueſts of cities; battles won or loſt; empires eſtabliſhed or overthrown; in all theſe, I ſay, there appears nothing but what is human and natural: God ſeems to have no concern in theſe things, and we ſhould be tempted to believe that he abandons men entirely to their views, their talents, and their paſſions; if we, perhaps, except the Jewiſh nation, whom he conſidered as his own peculiar people.

To prevent our falling into a temptation ſo repugnant to religion and even reaſon itſelf, God breaks at every interval his ſilence, and diſperſes the clouds which hide him, and condeſcends to diſcover to us the ſecret ſprings of his providence, by cauſing his prophets to foretel, a long ſeries of years before the event, the fate he has prepared for the different nations of the earth. He reveals to Daniel, the order, the ſucceſſion, and the different characteriſtics of the four great empires, to which he is determined to ſubject all the nations of the univerſe, *viz.* that of the Babylonians, of the Perſians and Medes, of the Greeks; and, laſtly, that of the Romans.

It is in the ſame view that he inſiſts, very ſtrongly, on the two moſt famous conquerors that ever exiſted: I mean, Cyrus and Alexander, the one founder, the other deſtroyer, of the powerful empire of Perſia. He cauſes the former to be called by his name 200 years before his birth; propheſies by the mouth of Iſaiah, his victories; and relates the ſeveral circumſtances of the taking of Babylon, the like of which had never been ſeen before. On this occaſion, he points out Alexander by the mouth of Daniel, and aſcribes ſuch qualities and characteriſtics as can agree with none but him, and which denote him as plainly as if he had been named.

Theſe paſſages of ſcripture, in which God explains himſelf clearly, ſhould be conſidered as very precious; and ſerve as ſo many keys to open to us the path to the ſecret methods by which he governs the world. Theſe faint glimmerings of light ſhould enable a rational and religious man to ſee every thing elſe clearly; and make him conclude, from what is ſaid of the four great empires, of Cyrus and Alexander, of Babylon and Tyre, that we ought to acknowledge and admire, in the ſeveral events of profane hiſtory, God's perpetual care and regard for

for all men and all ſtates, whoſe deſtiny depends entirely on his wiſdom, his power, and his pleaſure.

We may eaſily figure to ourſelves the great joy and admiration with which Alexander was filled, upon hearing ſuch clear, ſuch circumſtantial, and advantageous promiſes. Before he left Jeruſalem, he aſſembled the Jews, and bid them aſk any favour whatſoever. They anſwered, that their requeſt was, to be allowed to live according to the laws which their anceſtors had left them, and to be exempted, the ſeventh year, from their uſual tribute; and for this reaſon, becauſe they were forbid, by their laws, to ſow their fields, and conſequently could have no harveſt. Alexander granted their requeſt; and, upon the high-prieſt's beſeeching him to ſuffer the Jews who lived in Babylonia and Media to live likewiſe agreeable to their own laws, he alſo indulged them in this particular with the utmoſt humanity; and ſaid further, that in caſe any of them ſhould be willing to ſerve under his ſtandards, he would give them leave to follow their own way of worſhip, and to obſerve their reſpective cuſtoms: Upon which offer great numbers liſted themſelves.

He was ſcarce come from Jeruſalem, but the Samaritans waited upon him with great pomp and ceremony, humbly entreating him to do them alſo the honour to viſit their temple. As theſe had ſubmitted voluntarily to Alexander, and ſent him ſuccours, they imagined that they deſerved his favour much more than the Jews; and flattered themſelves that they ſhould obtain the ſame, and even much greater indulgence. It was in this view they made the pompous proceſſion above-mentioned, in order to invite Alexander to their city; and the Soco men they had ſent to ſerve under him, joined in the requeſt made by their countrymen. Alexander thanked them courteouſly; but ſaid, that he was obliged to march into Egypt, and therefore had no time to loſe; however, that he would viſit their city at his return, in caſe he had opportunity. They then beſought him to exempt them from paying a tribute every ſeventh year; upon which Alexander aſked them whether they were Jews? They made an ambiguous anſwer, which the king not having time to examine, he alſo ſuſpended this matter till his return, and immediately continued his march towards Gaza.

* Upon this arrival before that city, he found it provided

* Diod. l. xvii. p. 526. Arrian. l. ii. p. 101—103. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 6. Plut. in Alex. p. 679.

with

with a ſtrong garriſon, commanded by Betis, one of Darius' eunuchs. This governor, who was a brave man, and very faithful to his ſovereign, defended it with great vigour againſt Alexander. As this was the only inlet or paſs into Egypt, it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to conquer it, and therefore he was obliged to beſiege it. But although every art of war was employed, notwithſtanding his ſoldiers fought with the utmoſt intrepidity, he was however forced to lie two months before it. Exaſperated at its holding out ſo long, and his receiving two wounds, he was reſolved to treat the governor, the inhabitants, and ſoldiers, with a barbarity abſolutely inexcuſable; for he cut 10,000 men to pieces, and ſold all the reſt, with their wives and children, for ſlaves. When Betis, who had been taken priſoner in the laſt aſſault, was brought before him, Alexander, inſtead of uſing him kindly, as his valour and fidelity juſtly merited, this young monarch, who otherwiſe eſteemed bravery even in an enemy, fired on that occaſion with an inſolent joy, ſpoke thus to him: "Betis, thou ſhalt not "die the death thou deſiredſt. Prepare therefore to ſuffer all "thoſe torments which revenge can invent." Betis, looking upon the king, not only with a firm, but an haughty air, did not make the leaſt reply to his menaces; upon which the king, more enraged than before at his diſdainful ſilence—"Obſerve," ſaid he, "I beſeech you, that dumb arrogance. "Has he bended the knee? Has he ſpoke but one ſub-"miſſive word? But I will conquer this obſtinate ſilence, "and will force groans from him, if I can draw nothing elſe." At laſt Alexander's * anger roſe to fury; his conduct now beginning to change with his fortune: Upon which he ordered a hole to be made through his heels, when a rope being put through them, and this being tied to a chariot, he ordered his ſoldiers to drag Betis round the city till he died. He boaſted his having imitated, on this occaſion, Achilles, from whom he was deſcended; who, as Homer relates, cauſed the dead body of Hector to be dragged in the ſame manner round the walls of Troy†; as if a man ought ever to pride himſelf for having imitated ſo ill an example. Both were very barbarous, but Alexander was much more ſo, in cauſing Betis to be dragged alive; and for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had ſerved his ſovereign with bravery and fidelity, by defending a city, with which he had intruſted him; a fidelity, that ought to have

* Iram deinde vertit in rabiem, jam tum peregrinos ritus nova ſubeunte fortuna. Quint. Curt.

† Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile. Horat.

been

been admired, and even rewarded, by an enemy, rather than punished in so cruel a manner.

He sent the greatest part of the plunder he found in Gaza to Olympias, to Cleopatra his sister, and to his friends. He also presented Leonidas, his preceptor, with 500 quintals, or one cwt. of frankincense, and 100 quintals of myrrh; calling to mind a caution Leonidas had given him when but a child, and which seemed, even at that time, to presage the conquests this monarch had lately atchieved: for Leonidas observing Alexander take up whole handfuls of incense at a sacrifice, and throw it into the fire, said to him: "Alexander, when you shall have conquered the country which "produces these spices, you then may be as profuse of incense "as you please; but, till that day comes, be sparing of what "you have." The monarch therefore wrote to Leonidas as follows: "I send you a large quantity of incense and myrrh, "in order that you may no longer be so reserved and sparing "in your sacrifices to the gods."

* As soon as Alexander had ended the siege of Gaza, he left a garrison there, and turned the whole power of his arms towards Egypt. In seven days march he arrived before Pelusium, whither a great number of Egyptians had assembled, with all imaginable diligence, to recognize him for their sovereign.

The hatred these people bore to the Persians was so great, that they valued very little who should be their king, provided they could but meet with a hero to rescue them from the insolence and indignity with which themselves, and those who professed their religion, were treated; for how false soever a religion may be (and it is scarce possible to imagine one more absurd than that of the Egyptians), so long as it continues to be the established religion, the people will not suffer it to be insulted; nothing affecting their minds so strongly, nor firing them to a greater degree. Ochus had caused their god Apis to be murdered, in a manner highly injurious to themselves and their religion; and the Persians, to whom he had left the government, continued to make the same mock of that deity. Thus several circumstances had rendered the Persians so odious, that, upon Amyntas's coming up a little before with a handful of men, he found them prepared to join, and assist him in expelling the Persians.

* A. M. 3673. Ant J. C. 331. Diod. l. xvii. p. 526—529. Arrian. l. iii. p. 104—110. Plut. in Alex. p. 679—681. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 7, 8. Justin. l. xi. c. 11.

This Amyntas had deserted from Alexander, and entered into the service of Darius. He had commanded the Grecian forces at the battle of Issus; and having fled into Syria, by the country lying towards Tripoli, with 4000 men, he had there seized upon as many vessels as he wanted, burned the rest, and immediately set sail towards the island of Cyprus, and afterwards towards Pelusium, which he took by surprise, upon feigning that he had been honoured with a commission from Darius, appointing him governor of Egypt, in the room of Sabaces, killed in the battle of Issus. As soon as he found himself possessed of this important city, he threw off the mask, and made public pretensions to the crown of Egypt; declaring, that the motive of his coming was to expel the Persians. Upon this, a multitude of Egyptians, who wished for nothing so earnestly as to free themselves from these insupportable tyrants, went over to him. He then marched directly for Memphis, the capital of the kingdom; when coming to a battle, he defeated the Persians, and shut them up in the city. But, after he had gained this victory, having neglected to keep his soldiers together, they straggled up and down in search of plunder; which the enemy seeing, they sallied out upon such as remained, and cut them to pieces, with Amyntas their leader.

This event, so far from lessening the aversion the Egyptians had for the Persians, increased it still more; so that the moment Alexander appeared upon the frontiers, the people, who were all disposed to receive that monarch, ran in crowds to submit to him. His arrival, at the head of a powerful army, presented them with a secure protection, which Amyntas could not afford them; and, from this consideration, they all declared openly in his favour. Mazæus, who commanded in Memphis, finding it would be to no purpose for him to resist so triumphant an army, and that Darius, his sovereign, was not in a condition to succour him; he therefore set open the gates of the city to the conqueror, and gave up 800 talents, about L.140,000, and all the king's furniture. Thus Alexander possessed himself of all Egypt, without meeting with the least opposition.

At Memphis he formed a design of visiting the temple of Jupiter-Ammon. This temple was situated in the midst of the sandy deserts of Libya, and twelve days journey from Memphis. Ham *, the son of Noah, first peopled Egypt and Libya, after the flood; and, when idolatry began to gain ground in the

* Plin. l. v. c. 9.

world

world some time after, he was the chief deity of these two countries, in which his descendants had continued. A temple was built to his honour in the midst of these deserts, upon a spot of pretty good ground, about two leagues * broad, which formed a kind of island in a sea of sand. It is he whom the Greeks call Ζεὺς Jupiter, † and the Egyptians, Ammon. In process of time these two names were joined, and he was called Jupiter-Ammon.

The motive of this journey, which was equally rash and dangerous, was owing to a ridiculous vanity. Alexander, having read in Homer, and other fabulous authors of antiquity, that most of their heroes were represented as sons of some deity; and, as he himself was desirous of passing for an hero, he was determined to have some god for his father. Accordingly, he fixed upon Jupiter-Ammon for that purpose, and began by bribing the priests, and teaching them the part they were to act.

It would have been to no purpose, had any one endeavoured to divert him from a design which was great in no other circumstances than the pride and extravagance that gave birth to it. Puffed up with his victories, he had already begun to assume, as Plutarch observes, that character of tenaciousness and inflexibility which will do nothing but command; which cannot suffer advice, and much less bear opposition; which knows neither obstacles nor dangers; which makes the beautiful to consist in impossibility; in a word, which fancies itself able to force, not only enemies, but fortresses, seasons, and the whole order of nature; the usual effect of a long series of prosperities, which subdues the strongest, and makes them at length forget that they are men. We, ourselves, have seen a famous ‡ conqueror, who boasted his treading in the steps of Alexander, carry farther than he had ever done this kind of savage heroism, and lay it down as a maxim to himself, never to recede from his resolution.

§ Alexander therefore sets out; and going down from the river Memphis, till he came to the sea, he coasts it; and, after

* Forty furlongs.

† For this reason the city of Egypt which the scriptures † call No-Ammon, the city of Ham, or of Ammon, is called by the Greeks Διόσπολις, or the city of Jupiter.

‡ Charles XII. king of Sweden.

§ A. M. 3673. Ant. J. C. 331.

† Jerem. xlvi. 25. Ezek. xxx. 15. Nahum, iii. 8.

having paſſed Canopus, he obſerves, oppoſite to the iſland of Pharos, a ſpot he thought very well ſituated for the building of a city. He himſelf drew the plan of it, and marked out the ſeveral places where the temples and public ſquares were to be erected. For the building it, he employed Dinocrates the architect, who had acquired great reputation by his rebuilding, at Epheſus, the temple of Diana, which Heroſtratus had burned. This city he called after his own name, and it afterwards roſe to be the capital of the kingdom. As its harbour, which was very commodious, had the Mediterranean on one ſide, and the Nile and the Red Sea in its neighbourhood, it drew all the traffic of the eaſt and weſt; and thereby became, in a very little time, one of the moſt flouriſhing cities in the univerſe.

Alexander had a journey to go of 1600 ſtadia, or 80 French leagues, to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon; and moſt of the way was through ſandy deſerts. The ſoldiers were patient enough for the two firſt days march, before they arrived in the vaſt dreadful ſolitudes; but as ſoon as they found themſelves in vaſt plains, covered with ſands of a prodigious depth, they were greatly terrified. Surrounded as with the ſea, they gazed round as far as their ſight could extend, to diſcover, if poſſible, ſome place that was inhabited; but all in vain, for they could not perceive ſo much as a ſingle tree, nor the leaſt footſteps of any land that had been cultivated. To increaſe their calamity, the water that they had brought in goats' ſkins, upon camels, now failed; and there was not ſo much as a ſingle drop in all that ſandy deſert. They therefore were reduced to the ſad condition of dying almoſt with thirſt; not to mention the danger they were in of being buried under mountains of ſand, that were ſometimes raiſed by the winds; and which had formerly deſtroyed 50,000 of Cambyſes' troops. Every thing was by this time ſcorched in ſo violent a degree, and the air became ſo hot, that the men could ſcarcely breathe; when on a ſudden, whether by chance, ſay the hiſtorians, or the immediate indulgence of heaven, the ſky was ſo completely overſpread with thick clouds, that they hid the ſun, which was a great relief to the army; though they were ſtill in prodigious want of water. But the ſtorm having diſcharged itſelf in a violent rain, every ſoldier got as much as he wanted; and ſome had ſo violent a thirſt, that they ſtood with their mouths open, and catched the rain as it fell. The judicious reader knows what judgment

ment he is to form of these marvellous incidents, with which historians have thought proper to embellish this relation.

They were several days in crossing these deserts; and, upon their arriving near the place where the oracle stood, they perceived a great number of ravens flying before the most advanced standard. These ravens, sometimes, flew to the ground, when the army marched slowly; and, at other times, advanced forward, to serve them as guides, till they at last came to the temple of the god. A vastly surprising circumstance is, that although this oracle be situated in the midst of an almost boundless solitude, it nevertheless is surrounded with a grove, so very shady, that the sun-beams can scarcely pierce it; not to mention that this grove or wood is watered with several springs of fresh water, which preserve it in perpetual verdure. It is related, that near this grove there is another, in the midst of which is a fountain, called the Water, or Fountain, of the Sun. At day-break it is lukewarm, at noon cold; but in the evening it grows warmer insensibly, and at midnight boiling hot; after this, as day approaches, it decreases in heat, and continues this vicissitude for ever.

The god, who is worshipped in this temple, is not represented under the form which painters and sculptors generally give to gods; for he is made of emeralds, and other precious stones, and from the head to the navel *, resembles a ram. The king being come into the temple, the senior priest declared him to be the son of Jupiter; and assured, that the god himself bestowed this name upon him. Alexander accepted it with joy, and acknowledged Jupiter as his father. He afterwards asked the priest, whether his father Jupiter had not allotted him the empire of the whole world? To which the priest, who was as much a flatterer as the king was vain-glorious, answered, that he should be monarch of the universe. At last, he enquired, whether all his father's murderers had been punished; but the priest replied, that he blasphemed; that his father was immortal; but with regard to the murderers of Philip, they had all been extirpated; adding, that he should be invincible, and afterwards take his seat among the deities. Having ended his sacrifice, he offered magnificent presents to the god, and did not forget the priests, who had been so faithful to his interest.

Swelled with the splendid title of the son of Jupiter, and

* This passage in Quintus Curtius is pretty difficult, and is variously explained by interpreters.

fancying himſelf raiſed above the human ſpecies, he returned from his journey as from a triumph. From that time, in all his letters, his orders, and decrees, he always wrote in the ſtyle following: **Alexander, King, ſon of Jupiter-Ammon:* In anſwer to which, Olympias, his mother, one day made a very witty remonſtrance in a few words, by deſiring him not to quarrel any longer with Juno.

Whilſt Alexander prided himſelf in theſe chimeras, and taſted the great pleaſure his vanity made him conceive from this pompous title, every one derided him in ſecret; and ſome, who had not yet put on the yoke of abject flattery, ventured to reproach him upon that account; but they paid very dear for that liberty, as the ſequel will ſhow. Not ſatisfied with endeavouring to paſs for the ſon of a god, and of being perſuaded, in caſe this were poſſible, that he really was ſuch, he himſelf would alſo paſs for a god; till at laſt, Providence having acted that part, of which ſhe was pleaſed to make him the inſtrument, brought him to his end, and thereby levelled him with the reſt of mortals.

Alexander, upon his return from the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, being arrived at the Palus Mareotis, which is not far from the iſland of Pharos, made a viſit to the new city, part of which was now built. He took the beſt methods poſſible to people it, inviting thither all ſorts of perſons, to whom he offered the moſt advantageous conditions. † He drew to it, among others, a conſiderable number of Jews, by allowing them very great privileges; for he not only left them the free exerciſe of their religion and laws, but put them on the ſame foot in every reſpect with the Macedonians, whom he ſettled there. From thence he went to Memphis, where he ſpent the winter.

Varro obſerves, that at the time this king built Alexandria, the uſe of papyrus, for writing, was found in Egypt; but this I ſhall mention elſewhere.

‡ During Alexander's ſtay in Memphis, he ſettled the affairs of Egypt, ſuffering none but Macedonians to command the troops. He divided the country into diſtricts, over each of which he appointed a lieutenant, who received orders from himſelf only; not thinking it ſafe to intruſt the general command of all the troops to one ſingle perſon, in ſo large and populous a country. With regard to the civil government, he

* Varro apud A. Gel. l. xiii. c. 4. † Joſeph. contra Appian.
‡ Arrian. l. iii. p. 103—110. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 8.

inveſted

inveſted one Doloaſpes with the whole power of it; for, being deſirous that Egypt ſhould ſtill be governed by its ancient laws and cuſtoms, he was of opinion that a native of Egypt, to whom they muſt be familiar, was fitter for that office than any foreigner whatſoever.

To haſten the building of his new city, he appointed Cleomenes inſpector over it; with orders for him to levy the tribute which Arabia was to pay. But this Cleomenes was a very wicked wretch, who abuſed his authority, and oppreſſed the people with the utmoſt barbarity.

## SECTION VIII.

### ALEXANDER RESOLVES TO GO IN PURSUIT OF DARIUS.—THE FAMOUS BATTLE OF ARBELA.

ALEXANDER having ſettled the affairs of Egypt *, ſet out from thence about ſpring-time, to march into the eaſt againſt Darius. In his way through Paleſtine, he heard news which gave him great uneaſineſs. At his going into Egypt, he had appointed Andromachus, whom he highly eſteemed, governor of Syria and Paleſtine. Andromachus coming to Samaria to ſettle ſome affairs in that country, the Samaritans mutinied, and ſetting fire to the houſe in which he was, burned him alive. It is very probable, that this was occaſioned by the rage with which that people were fired, at their having been denied the ſame privileges that had been granted the Jews, their enemies. Alexander was highly exaſperated againſt them for this cruel action, and accordingly he put to death all thoſe who had any hand in it, baniſhed the reſt from the city of Samaria, ſupplying their room with a colony of Macedonians, and divided the reſt of their lands among the Jews.

He made ſome ſtay in Tyre, to ſettle the various affairs of the countries he left behind him, and advanced towards new conqueſts.

† He was ſcarce ſet out, when an eunuch brought word, that Darius's conſort was dead in child-bed. Hearing this, he returned back, and went into the tent of Syſigambis, whom he found bathed in tears, and lying on the ground, in the midſt of the young princeſſes, who alſo were weeping; and near

* Diod. l. xvii. p. 530—536. Arrian. l. iii. p. 111—127. Plut. in Alex. p. 681—685. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 9—16. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 12—14.
† A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330.

them

them the ſon of Darius, a child*, who was the more worthy of compaſſion, as he was leſs ſenſible to evils, which concerned him more than any other. Alexander conſoled them in ſo kind and tender a manner, as plainly ſhowed that he himſelf was deeply and ſincerely afflicted. He cauſed her funeral obſequies to be performed with the utmoſt ſplendor and magnificence. One of the eunuchs who ſuperintended the chamber, and who had been taken with the princeſſes, fled from the camp, and ran to Darius, whom he informed of his conſort's death. The Perſian monarch was ſeized with the moſt violent affliction upon hearing this news; particularly, as he ſuppoſed ſhe would not be allowed the funeral ceremonies due to her exalted rank. But the eunuch undeceived him on this occaſion, by telling him the honours which Alexander had paid his queen after her death, and the civilities he had always ſhown her in her life-time. Darius, upon hearing theſe words, was fired with ſuſpicions of ſo horrid a kind, that they did not leave him a moment's quiet.

Taking the eunuch aſide, he ſpoke to him as follows: "If "thou doſt ſtill acknowledge Darius for lord and ſovereign, "tell me, by the reſpect and veneration thou oweſt to that "great ſplendor of † Mithres, which enlightens us, and to "this hand which the king ſtretches out to thee; tell me, I "ſay, whether, in bemoaning the death of Statira, I do not "bewail the leaſt of her evils; and whether, as ſhe fell into "the hands of a young monarch, ſhe did not firſt loſe her ho-"nour, and afterwards her life." The eunuch, throwing himſelf at Darius's feet, beſought him not to think ſo injuriouſly of Alexander's virtue; nor diſhonour his wife and ſiſter after her death; and not deprive himſelf of the greateſt conſolation he could poſſibly have in his misfortunes, *viz.* to be firmly perſuaded, that the prince, who had triumphed over him, was ſuperior to the frailties of other men; that he ought rather to admire Alexander, as he had given the Perſian ladies much ſtronger proofs of his virtue and continence, than he had given the Perſians themſelves of his valour. After this, he confirmed all he had before ſaid, by the moſt dreadful oaths and imprecations; and then gave him a particular account of what public fame had related, concerning the wiſdom, temperance, and magnanimity of Alexander.

* Ob id ipſum miſerabilis, quod nondum ſentiebat calamitatem, maxima ex parte ad ipſum redundantem. Q. Curt.

† The Perſians worſhipped the ſun under the name of Mithres, and the moon under that of Mithrā.

Darius,

Darius, returning into the hall where his courtiers were aſſembled, and lifting up his hands to heaven, he broke into the following prayer: "Ye gods, who preſide over the birth of "men, and who diſpoſe of kings and empires, grant that, af"ter having raiſed the fortune of Perſia from its dejected ſtate, "I may tranſmit it to my deſcendants with the ſame luſtre in "which I received it; in order that, after having triumphed "over my enemies, I may acknowledge the favours which "Alexander has ſhown in my calamity to perſons who, of all "others, are moſt dear to me: or, in caſe the time ordained "by the fates is at laſt come, or that it muſt neceſſarily happen, "from the anger of the gods, or the ordinary viciſſitudes of "human affairs, that the empire of Perſia muſt end; grant, "great gods, that none but Alexander may aſcend the throne "of Cyrus."

In the mean time, Alexander having ſet out upon his march, arrived with his whole army at Thapſacus, where he paſſed a bridge that lay acroſs the Euphrates, and continued his journey towards the Tigris, where he expected to come up with the enemy. Darius had already made overtures of peace to him twice; but finding at laſt that there were no hopes of their concluding one, unleſs he reſigned the whole empire to him, he therefore prepared himſelf again for battle. For this purpoſe, he aſſembled in Babylon an army half as numerous again as that of Iſſus, and marched it towards Nineveh: his forces covered all the plains of Meſopotamia. Advice being brought, that the enemy was not far off, he cauſed Satropates, colonel of the cavalry, to advance at the head of 1000 choſen horſe; and likewiſe gave 6000 to Mazæus, governor of the province; all whom were to prevent Alexander from croſſing the river, and to lay waſte the country through which that monarch was to paſs: but he arrived too late.

Of all the rivers of the eaſt, this is the moſt rapid; and not only a great number of rivulets mix in its waves, but thoſe alſo drag along great ſtones; ſo that it is named Tigris, by reaſon of its prodigious rapidity, an arrow being ſo called in the Perſian tongue. Alexander founded thoſe parts of the river which were fordable, and there the water, at the entrance, came up to the horſes' bellies, and in the middle to their breaſts. Having drawn up his infantry in the form of a half moon, and poſted his cavalry on the two wings, they advanced to the current of the water with no great difficulty, carrying their arms over their heads. The king walked on foot among the infantry, and was the firſt who appeared on the oppoſite ſhore, where

where he pointed out with his hand the ford to the soldiers; it not being poſſible for him to make them hear him. But it was with the greateſt difficulty they kept themſelves above water, becauſe of the ſlipperineſs of the ſtones, and the impetuoſity of the ſtream. Such ſoldiers as not only carried their arms, but their clothes alſo, were much more fatigued; for theſe being unable to go forward, were carried into whirlpools unleſs they threw away their burdens. At the ſame time, the great number of clothes floating up and down beat away the burdens of ſeveral; and, as every man endeavoured to catch at his own things, they annoyed one another more than the river did. It was to no purpoſe that the king commanded them, with a loud voice, to ſave nothing but their arms; and aſſured them, that he himſelf would compenſate their other loſſes; for not one of them would liſten to his admonitions or orders, ſo great was the noiſe and tumult. At laſt, they all paſſed over that part of the ford where the water was ſhalloweſt and the ſtream leſs impetuous, recovering however but a ſmall part of their baggage.

It is certain, that this army might eaſily have been cut to pieces, had they been oppoſed by a general who dared to conquer: that is, who made ever ſo little oppoſition to their paſſage. But Mazæus, who might eaſily have defeated them had he come up when they were croſſing the river in diſorder and confuſion, did not arrive till they were drawn up in battle array. A like good fortune had always attended this prince hitherto, both when he paſſed the Granicus in ſight of ſo prodigious a multitude of horſe and foot, who waited his coming on the ſhore; and alſo in the rocks of Cilicia, when he found the paſſes and ſtraits quite open and defenceleſs, where a ſmall number of troops might have checked his progreſs. This * circumſtance may leſſen our ſurpriſe at that exceſs of boldneſs which was his peculiar characteriſtic, and which perpetually prompted him to attempt blindly the greateſt dangers; ſince as he was always fortunate, he never had once room to ſuſpect himſelf guilty of raſhneſs.

The king, having encamped two days near the river, commanded his ſoldiers to be ready for marching on the morrow but about nine or ten in the evening, the moon firſt loſt its light, and appeared afterwards quite ſullied, and, as it were tinctured with blood. Now as this happened juſt before

* Audaciæ quoque, qua maxime viguit, ratio minui poteſt; quia nunquam in diſcrimen venit, an temere feciſſet. Q. Curt.

great

great battle was going to be fought, the doubtful ſucceſs of which filled the army with ſufficient diſquietude, they were firſt ſtruck with a religious awe, and, being afterwards ſeized with fear, they cried out, "That heaven diſplayed the marks "of its anger; and that they were dragged, againſt the will of "it, to the extremities of the earth; that rivers oppoſed their "paſſage; that the ſtars refuſed to give their uſual light; and "that they could now ſee nothing but deſerts and ſolitudes; "that, merely to ſatisfy the ambition of one man, ſo many "thouſands ſhed their blood; and that for a man who con-"temned his own country, diſowned his father, and pretended "to paſs for a god."

Theſe murmurs were riſing to an open inſurrection, when Alexander, whom nothing could intimidate, ſummoned the officers of the army into his tent, and commanded ſuch of the Egyptian ſoothſayers as were beſt ſkilled in the knowledge of the ſtars, to declare what they thought of this phænomenon. Theſe knew very well the natural cauſes of eclipſes of the moon; but, without entering into phyſical inquiries, they contented themſelves with ſaying, that the ſun was on the ſide of the Greeks, and the moon on that of the Perſians; and that, whenever it ſuffered an eclipſe, it always threatened the latter with ſome grievous calamity, whereof they mentioned ſeveral examples, all which they gave as true and indiſputable. Superſtition has a ſurpriſing aſcendant over the minds of the vulgar. How headſtrong and inconſtant ſoever they may be, yet if they are once ſtruck with a vain image of religion, they will ſooner obey ſoothſayers than their leaders. The anſwer made by the Egyptians being diſperſed among the ſoldiers, it revived their hopes and courage.

The king, purpoſely to take advantage of this ardour, began his march after midnight. On his right hand lay the Tigris, and on his left the mountains called Gordyæi. At day-break the ſcouts, whom he had ſent to view the enemy, brought word that Darius was marching towards him; upon which, he immediately drew up his forces in battle-array, and ſet himſelf at their head. However, it was afterwards found, that they were only a detachment of 1000 horſe that was going upon diſcoveries, and which ſoon retired to the main army. Nevertheleſs, news was brought the king, that Darius was now but 150 ſtadia * from the place where they then were.

Not long before this, ſome letters had been intercepted, by

* Seven or eight leagues.

which

which Darius solicited the Grecian soldiers either to kill or betray Alexander. Nothing can reflect so great an odium on the memory of this prince, as an attempt of that kind; an attempt so abject and black, and more than once repeated. Alexander was in doubt with himself, whether it would be proper for him to read these letters in full assembly, relying as much on the affection and fidelity of the Greeks, as on that of the Macedonians. But Parmenio dissuaded him from it; declaring, that it would be dangerous even to awake such thoughts in the minds of soldiers; that one only was sufficient to strike the blow; and that avarice was capable of attempting the most enormous crimes. The king followed this prudent council, and ordered his army to march forward.

Although Darius had twice sued in vain for peace, and imagined that he had nothing to trust to but his arms; nevertheless, being overcome by the advantageous circumstances which had been told him concerning Alexander's tenderness and humanity towards his family, he dispatched ten of his chief relations, who were to offer him fresh conditions of peace more advantageous than the former, and to thank him for the kind treatment he had given his family. Darius had, in the former proposals, given him up all the provinces as far as the river Halys; but now he added the several territories situated between the Hellespont and the Euphrates, that is, all he already possessed. Alexander made the following answer: "Tell your "sovereign, that thanks, between persons who make war "against one another, are superfluous; and that, in case I "have behaved with clemency towards his family, it was for "my own sake, and not for his; in consequence of my own "inclination, and not to please him. To insult the unhappy, "is a thing to me unknown. I do not attack either prisoners "or women, and turn my rage against such only as are armed "for the fight. Did Darius sue for peace in a sincere view, I "then would debate on what is to be done; but since he still "continues, by letters and by money, to spirit up my soldiers "to betray me, and my friends to murder me, I therefore am "determined to pursue him with the utmost vigour; and that "not as an enemy, but a poisoner and an assassin. It indeed "becomes him to offer to yield up to me what I am already "possessed of! Would he be satisfied with ranking himself as "second to me, without pretending to be my equal, I might "possibly then hear him. Tell him, that the world will "not permit two suns, nor two sovereigns. Let him therefore "choose either to surrender to-day or fight me to-morrow, and

not

"not flatter himself with the hopes of obtaining better success "than he has hitherto had." Darius's proposals are certainly not reasonable; but then, is Alexander's answer much more so? In the former we behold a prince, who is not yet sensible of his own weakness, or, at least, who cannot prevail with himself to own it; and in the latter, we see a monarch quite intoxicated with his good fortune, and carry his pride to such an excess of folly, as is not to be paralleled: "The world will not permit two suns, "nor two sovereigns." If this be greatness, and not pride, I do not know what can ever deserve the latter name. The ambassadors having leave to depart, returned back, and told Darius, that he must now prepare for battle. The latter pitched his camp near a village called Gaugamela, and the river Bumela, in a plain at a considerable distance from Arbela. He had before levelled the spot which he pitched upon for the field of battle, in order that his chariots and cavalry might have full room to move in; recollecting, that his fighting in the straits of Cilicia had lost him the battle fought there. At the same time, he had prepared crows-feet * to annoy the enemy's horse.

Alexander, upon hearing this news, continued four days in the place he then was, to rest his army, and surrounded his camp with trenches and palisades; for he was determined to leave all his baggage, and the useless soldiers in it, and march the remainder against the enemy, with no other equipage than the arms they carried. Accordingly, he set out about nine in the evening, in order to fight Darius at day-break; who, upon this advice, had drawn up his army in order of battle. Alexander also marched in battle array; for both armies were within two or three leagues of each other. When he was arrived at the mountains, where he could discover the enemy's whole army, he halted; and, having assembled his general officers, as well Macedonians as foreigners, he debated whether they should engage immediately, or pitch their camp in that place. The latter opinion being followed, because it was judged proper for them to view the field of battle, and the manner in which the enemy was drawn up, the army encamped in the same order in which it had marched; during which Alexander, at the head of his infantry, lightly armed, and his royal regiments, marched round the plain in which the battle was to be fought.

Being returned, he assembled his general officers a second time,

* Crows-feet is an instrument composed of iron spikes. Several of these are laid in the fields through which the cavalry is to march, in order that they may run into the horses feet.

and told them, that there was no occaſion for his making a ſpeech, becauſe their courage and great actions were alone ſufficient to excite them to glory; that he deſired them only to repreſent to the ſoldiers, that they were not to fight, on this occaſion, for Phœnicia or Egypt, but for all Aſia, which would be poſſeſſed by him who ſhould conquer; and that, after having gone through ſo many provinces, and left behind them ſo great a number of rivers and mountains, they could ſecure their retreat no otherwiſe than by gaining a complete victory. After this ſpeech, he ordered them to take ſome repoſe.

It is ſaid, that Parmenio adviſed him to attack the enemy in the night-time, alleging that they might eaſily be defeated, if fallen upon by ſurpriſe, and in the dark; but the king anſwered, ſo loud that all preſent might hear him, that it did not become Alexander to ſteal a victory, and therefore he was reſolved to fight and conquer on broad day-light. This was a haughty, but, at the ſame time, a prudent anſwer; for it was running great hazard, to fall upon ſo numerous an army in the night-time, and in an unknown country. Darius, fearing he ſhould be attacked at unawares, becauſe he had not intrenched himſelf, obliged his ſoldiers to continue the whole night under arms, which proved of the higheſt prejudice to him in the engagement.

Alexander, who in the criſis of affairs uſed always to conſult ſoothſayers, obſerving very exactly whatever they enjoined, in order to obtain the favour of the gods, finding himſelf upon the point of fighting a battle, the ſucceſs of which was to give empire to the conqueror, ſent for Ariſtander, in whom he repoſed the greateſt confidence. He then ſhut himſelf up with the soothſayer, to make ſome ſecret ſacrifices; and afterwards offered up victims to Fear*, which he doubtleſs did to prevent his army from being ſeized with dread, at the ſight of the formidable army of Darius. The ſoothſayer, dreſſed in his veſtments, holding vervain, with his head veiled, firſt repeated the prayers the king was to addreſs to Jupiter, to Minerva, and to Victory. The whole being ended, Alexander went to bed, to repoſe himſelf the remaining part of the night. As he revolved in his mind, not without ſome emotion, the conſequences of the battle which was upon the point of being fought, he could not ſleep immediately. But his body being oppreſſed, in a manner, by the anxiety of his mind, he ſlept ſoundly the whole night, contrary to his uſual cuſtom: So that when his generals were aſſembled at day-break before his tent, to receive his orders, they were greatly ſurpriſed

* We muſt read in Plutarch Φόβῳ inſtead of Φοίβῳ.

to

to find he was not awake: upon which they themſelves commanded the ſoldiers to take ſome refreſhment. Parmenio having at laſt awaked him, and ſeeming ſurpriſed to find him in ſo calm and ſweet a ſleep, juſt as he was going to fight a battle, in which his whole fortune lay at ſtake: "How could it be poſſible," ſaid Alexander, "for us not to be calm, ſince the enemy is coming "to deliver himſelf into our hands?" Immediately he took up his arms, mounted his horſe, and rode up and down the ranks, exhorting the troops to behave gallantly, and, if poſſible, to ſurpaſs their ancient fame, and the glory they had hitherto acquired. Soldiers, on the day of battle, imagine they ſee the fate of the engagement painted in the face of their general. As for Alexander, he had never appeared ſo calm, ſo gay, nor ſo reſolute. The ſerenity and ſecurity which they obſerved in him, were in a manner ſo many aſſurances of the victory.

There was a great difference between the two armies with reſpect to numbers, but much more ſo with regard to courage. That of Darius conſiſted at * leaſt of 600,000 foot, and 40,000 horſe; and the other of no more than 40,000 foot, and 7 or 8000 horſe: But the latter was all fire and ſtrength: whereas, on the ſide of the Perſians, it was a prodigious aſſemblage of men, not of ſoldiers†; an empty phantom rather than a real army.

Both ſides were diſpoſed in very near the ſame array. The forces were drawn up in two lines, the cavalry on the two wings, and the infantry in the middle; the one and the other being under the particular conduct of the chiefs of each of the different nations that compoſed them; and commanded, in general, by the principal crown-officers. The front of the battle, under Darius, was covered with 200 chariots, armed with ſcythes, and with 15 elephants, that king taking his poſt in the centre of the firſt line. Beſides the guards, which were the flower of his forces, he alſo had fortified himſelf with the Grecian infantry, whom he had drawn up near his perſon; believing this body only capable of oppoſing the Macedonian phalanx. As his army ſpread over a much greater ſpace of ground than that of the enemy, he intended to ſurround and to charge them at one and the ſame time, both in front and flank.

But Alexander had guarded againſt this, by giving orders to the commanders of the ſecond line, that in caſe they ſhould be charged behind, to face about to that ſide: or elſe to draw up

* According to ſeveral hiſtorians, it amounted to upwards of 1,000,000 of men.

† Nomina verius quam auxilia. Q. Curt.

their troops in form of a gibbet, and cover the wings, in caſe the enemy ſhould charge them in flank. He had poſted, in the front of his firſt line, the greateſt part of his bowmen, ſlingers, hurlers of javelins, in order that theſe might make head againſt the chariots armed with ſcythes, and frighten the horſes, by diſcharging at them a ſhower of arrows, javelins, and ſtones. Thoſe who led on the wings were ordered to extend them as wide as poſſible; but in ſuch a manner, as not to weaken the main body. As for the baggage and the captives, among whom were Darius's mother and children, they were left in the camp under a ſmall guard. Parmenio commanded, as he had always done, the left wing, and Alexander the right.

When the two armies came in view, Alexander, who had been ſhown the ſeveral places where the crows-feet were hid, extended more and more towards the right to avoid them; and the Perſians advanced forward in proportion. Darius, being afraid leſt the Macedonians ſhould draw him from the ſpot of ground he had levelled, and carry him into another that was rough and uneven, commanded the cavalry in his left wing, which ſpread much farther than that of the enemy's right, to march right forward, and wheel about upon the Macedonians in flank, to prevent them from extending their troops farther. Then Alexander diſpatched againſt them the body of horſe in his ſervice commanded by Menidas; but, as theſe were not able to make head againſt the enemy, becauſe of their prodigious numbers, he reinforced them with the Pæoneans, whom Aretas commanded, and with the foreign cavalry *. Beſides the advantage of numbers, they had that alſo of their coats of mail, which ſecured themſelves, and their horſes much more. Alexander's cavalry was prodigiouſly annoyed: however, they marched to the charge with great bravery, and at laſt put them to flight.

Upon this, the Perſians oppoſed the chariots armed with ſcythes againſt the Macedonian phalanx, in order to break it, but with little ſucceſs. The noiſe which the ſoldiers, who were lightly armed, made, by ſtriking their ſwords againſt their bucklers, and the arrows which flew on all ſides, frightened the horſes, and made a great number of them turn back againſt their own troops. Others, laying hold of the horſes bridles, pulled the riders down, and cut them to pieces. Part of the chariots drove between the battalions, which opened to make way for them, as they had been ordered to do, by which means they did little or no execution.

* Some relate that the barbarians gave way at firſt, but ſoon returned to the charge.

Alexander

Alexander, seeing Darius set his whole army in motion in order to charge him, employed a stratagem to encourage his soldiers. When the battle was at the hottest, and the Macedonians in the greatest danger, Aristander, the soothsayer, clothed in his white robes, holding a branch of laurel in his hand, advances among the combatants, as he had been instructed by the king; and crying that he saw an eagle hovering over Alexander's head, a sure omen of victory, he showed, with his finger, the pretended bird to the soldiers; who, relying upon the sincerity of the soothsayer, fancied they also saw it; and thereupon renewed the attack with greater cheerfulness and ardour than ever. Then the king perceiving that Aretas, after having charged the cavalry, and put them into disorder, upon their advancing to surround his right wing, had begun to break the foremost ranks of the main body of the barbarian army; he marched after Aretas, with the flower of his troops, when he quite broke the enemy's left wing, which had already begun to give way; and without pursuing the forces which he had thrown into disorder, he wheeled to the left, in order to fall upon the body in which Darius had posted himself. The presence of the two kings inspired both sides with new vigour. Darius was mounted on a chariot, and Alexander on horseback; both surrounded with their bravest officers and soldiers, whose only endeavour was to save the lives of their respective princes, at the hazard of their own. The battle was obstinate and bloody. Alexander having wounded Darius's equerry with a javelin, the Persians, as well as the Macedonians, imagined that the king was killed; upon which the former, breaking aloud into the most dismal sounds, the whole army was seized with the greatest consternation. The relations of Darius, who were at his left hand, fled away with the guards, and so abandoned the chariot; but those who were at his right, took him into the centre of their body. Historians relate, that this prince having drawn his scimitar, reflected whether he ought not to lay violent hands upon himself, rather than fly in an ignominious manner: but perceiving from his chariot that his soldiers still fought, he was ashamed to forsake them; and, as he was divided between hope and despair, the Persians retired insensibly, and thinned their ranks; when it could no longer be called a battle, but a slaughter. Then Darius, turning about his chariot, fled with the rest; and the conqueror was now wholly employed in pursuing him.

Whilst all this was doing in the right wing of the Macedonians, where the victory was not doubtful; the left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was in great danger. A detachment of the Per-

ſian, Indian, and Parthian horſe, which were the beſt in all the Perſian army, having broke through the infantry on the left, advanced to the very baggage. The moment the captives ſaw them arrive in the camp, they armed themſelves with every thing that came firſt to hand, and reinforcing their cavalry, ruſhed upon the Macedonians, who were now charged before and behind. They, at the ſame time, told Syſigambis, that Darius had won the battle (for this they believed); that the whole baggage was plundered, and that ſhe was now going to recover her liberty. But this princeſs, who was a woman of great wiſdom, though this news affected her in the ſtronger manner, could not eaſily give credit to it; and being unwilling to exaſperate, by too haſty a joy, a conqueror who had treated her with ſo much humanity, ſhe did not diſcover the leaſt emotion; did not once change countenance, nor let drop a ſingle word; but, in her uſual poſture, calmly waited till the event ſhould denounce her fate.

Parmenio, upon the firſt report of this attack, had diſpatched a meſſenger to Alexander, to acquaint him with the danger to which the camp was expoſed, and to receive his orders. "Above "all things," ſaid the prince, "let him not weaken his main "body; let him not mind the baggage, but apply himſelf wholly "to the engagement; for victory will not only reſtore to us our "own poſſeſſions, but alſo give thoſe of the enemy into our "hands." The general officers, who commanded the infantry which formed the centre of the ſecond line, ſeeing the enemy were going to make themſelves maſters of the camp and baggage, made a half-turn to the right, in obedience to the order which had been given, and fell upon the Perſians behind, many of whom were cut to pieces, and the reſt obliged to retire; but as theſe were horſe, the Macedonian foot could not follow them.

Soon after, Parmenio himſelf was expoſed to much greater peril. Mazæus, having ruſhed upon him with all his cavalry, charged the Macedonians in flank, and began to ſurround them. Immediately Parmenio ſent Alexander advice of the danger he was in; declaring, that in caſe he were not immediately ſuccoured, it would be impoſſible for him to keep his ſoldiers together. The prince was actually purſuing Darius, and, fancying he was almoſt come up with him, rode with the utmoſt ſpeed. He flattered himſelf, that he ſhould abſolutely put an end to the war, in caſe he could but ſeize his perſon. But, upon this news, he turned about, in order to ſuccour his left wing; ſhuddering with rage, to ſee his prey and victory torn in this manner from him; and complaining againſt fortune, for having favoured Darius more in his flight, than himſelf in the purſuit of that monarch.

Alexander

Alexander, in his march, met the enemy's horſe who had plundered the baggage; all which were returning in good order, and retiring back, not as ſoldiers who had been defeated, but almoſt as if they had gained the victory. And now the battle became more obſtinate than before; for, the barbarians marching in cloſe columns, not in order of battle, but that of a march, it was very difficult to break through them; and they did not amuſe themſelves with throwing javelins, nor with wheeling about, according to their uſual cuſtom; but man engaging againſt man, each did all that lay in his power to unhorſe his enemy. Alexander loſt 60 of his guards in this attack. Hephæſtion, Cœnus, and Menidas, were wounded it it; however, he triumphed on this occaſion, and all the barbarians were cut to pieces, except ſuch as forced their way through his ſquadrons.

During this, news had been brought to Mazæus that Darius was defeated; upon which, being greatly alarmed and dejected by the ill ſucceſs of that monarch, though the advantage was entirely on his ſide, he ceaſed to charge the enemy, who were now in diſorder, ſo briſkly as before. Parmenio could not conceive how it came to paſs, that the battle, which before was carried on ſo warmly, ſhould ſlacken on a ſudden: however, like an able commander, who ſeizes every advantage, and who employs his utmoſt endeavours to inſpire his ſoldiers with freſh vigour, he obſerved to them, that the terror which ſpread throughout the whole army, was the forerunner of their deſeat; and fired them with the notion how glorious it would be for them to put the laſt hand to the victory. Upon his exhortations, they recovered their former hopes and bravery; when transformed into other men, they gave their horſes the rein, and charged the enemy with ſo much fury, as threw them into the greateſt diſorder, and obliged them to fly. Alexander came up that inſtant; and, overjoyed to find the ſcale turned in his favour, and the enemy entirely defeated, he renewed, in concert with Parmenio, the purſuit of Darius. He rode as far as Arbela, where he fancied he ſhould come up with that monarch and all his baggage; but Darius had only juſt paſſed by it, and left his treaſure a prey to the enemy, with his bow and ſhield.

Such was the ſucceſs of this famous battle, which gave empire to the conqueror. According to Arrian, the Perſians loſt 300,000 men, beſides thoſe who were taken priſoners; which at leaſt, is a proof that the loſs was very great on their ſide. That of Alexander was very inconſiderable, he not loſing, according to the laſt-mentioned author, 1200 men, moſt of whom were horſe.

horſe. * This engagement was fought in the month of † October, about the ſame time, two years before, that the battle of Iſſus was fought. As Gaugamela, in Aſſyria, the ſpot where the two armies engaged, was a ſmall place of very little note, this was called the battle of Arbela, that city being neareſt to the field of battle.

## SECTION IX.

### ALEXANDER TAKES ARBELA, BABYLON, SUSA, PERSEPOLIS; AND FINDS IMMENSE RICHES IN THOSE CITIES.

ALEXANDER's firſt care*, after his obtaining the victory, was to offer magnificent ſacrifices to the gods by way of thankſgiving. He afterwards rewarded ſuch as had ſignalized themſelves remarkably in battle; beſtowed riches upon them with a very liberal hand, and gave to each of them houſes, employments, and governments. But being deſirous of expreſſing more particularly his gratitude to the Greeks, for having appointed him generaliſſimo againſt the Perſians, he gave orders for aboliſhing the ſeveral tyrannical inſtitutions that had ſtarted up in Greece; that the cities ſhould be reſtored to their liberties, and all their rights and privileges. He wrote particularly to the Platæans, declaring that it was his deſire their city ſhould be rebuilt, to reward the zeal and bravery by which their anceſtors had diſtinguiſhed themſelves, in defending the common liberties of Greece. † He alſo ſent part of the ſpoils to the people of Crotona, in Italy; to honour, though ſo many years after, the good-will and courage of Phayllus the champion, a native of their country, who, whilſt war was carrying on againſt Greece, and when all the reſt of the Greeks that were ſettled in Italy had abandoned the true Grecians, imagining they were entirely undone, fitted out a galley at his own expence, and ſailed to Salamis, to partake of the danger to which his countrymen were at that time expoſed. So great a friend and encourager, ſays Plutarch, was Alexander, of every kind of virtue; conſidering himſelf, ſays the ſame author, obliged in a manner to perpetuate the remembrance of all great actions; to give immortality to merit, and propoſe them to poſterity as ſo many models for their imitation.

* A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330.

† The month, called by the Greeks, Boedromion, anſwers partly to our month of October.

‡ Diod. l. xvii. p. 538—540. Arrian. l. iii. p. 127—133. Plut. in Alex. p. 685—688. Quint. Curt. l. v. c. 1—7. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 14.

§ Herodotus relates this hiſtory in very few words, l. viii. c. 47.

Darius

Darius, after his defeat, having but very few attendants, had rode towards the river Lycus. After croſſing it, ſeveral adviſed him to break down the bridges, becauſe the enemy purſued him. But he made this generous anſwer: "* That life was not ſo dear "to him, as to make him deſire to preſerve it by the deſtruction "of ſo many thouſands of his ſubjects and faithful allies, who, "by that means, would be delivered up to the mercy of the ene-"my; that they had as much right to paſs over this bridge as "their ſovereign, and conſequently that it ought to be as open "to them." After riding a great number of leagues full ſpeed, he arrived at midnight at Arbela. From thence he fled towards Media over the Armenian mountains, followed by a great number of the nobility, and a few of his guards. The reaſon of his going that way was, his ſuppoſing that Alexander would proceed towards Babylon and Suſa, there to enjoy the fruits of his victory; beſides, a numerous army could not purſue him by this road; whereas, in the other, horſes and chariots might advance with great eaſe; not to mention that the ſoil was very fruitful.

A few days after Arbela ſurrendered to Alexander, who found in it a great quantity of furniture belonging to the crown, rich clothes, and other precious moveables, with 4000 talents (about L.775,000), and all the riches of the army, which Darius had left there at his ſetting out againſt Alexander, as was before obſerved. But he was ſoon obliged to leave that place, becauſe of the diſeaſes that ſpread in his camp, occaſioned by the infection of the dead bodies which covered all the field of battle. This prince advanced therefore over the plains towards Babylon, and after four days march arrived at Memnis, where, in a cave, is ſeen the celebrated fountain which throws out ſo vaſt a quantity of bitumen, that, we are told, it was uſed as cement in building the walls of Babylon.

But what Alexander admired moſt was, a great gulf, whence ſtreamed perpetually rivulets of fire, as from an inexhauſtible ſpring; and a flood of naphtha, which overflowing, from the prodigious quantities of it, formed a great lake pretty near the gulf. This naphtha is exactly like bitumen, but has one quality more, *viz.* its catching fire ſo very ſuddenly, that before it touches a flame, it takes fire merely from the light that ſurrounds the flame, and fets the air between both on fire. The barbarians, being deſirous of ſhowing the king the ſtrength and ſubtilty of this combuſtible ſubſtance, ſcattered ſeveral drops of it up and

* Non ita ſe ſaluti ſuæ velle conſultum, ut tot millia ſociorum hoſti obji-ciat: debere et aliis fugæ viam patere, quæ patuerit ſibi. Juſtin.

down

down after his arrival in Babylon, in that ſtreet which went up to the houſe he had choſen for his reſidence. After this, going to the other end of the ſtreet, they brought torches near the places where thoſe drops were fallen (for it was night); and the drops which were nigheſt the torches taking fire on a ſudden, the flame ran in an inſtant to the other end; by which means the whole ſtreet ſeemed in one general conflagration.

When Alexander was got near Babylon, Mazæus, who had retired thither after the battle of Arbela, ſurrendered himſelf, with his children, who were grown up, and gave the city into his hands. The king was very well pleaſed with his arrival; for he would have met with great difficulties in beſieging a city of ſuch importance, and ſo well provided of every thing. Beſides his being a perſon of great quality, and very brave, he had alſo acquired great honour in the laſt battle; and others might have been prompted, from the example he ſet them, to imitate him. Alexander entered the city at the head of his whole army, as if he had been marching to a battle. The walls of Babylon were lined with people, notwithſtanding the greateſt part of the citizens were gone out before, from the impatient deſire they had to ſee their new ſovereign, whoſe renown had far outſtripped his march. Bagophanes, governor of the fortreſs, and guardian of the treaſure, unwilling to diſcover leſs zeal than Mazæus, ſtrewed the ſtreets with flowers, and raiſed on both ſides of the way ſilver altars, which ſmoked not only with frankincenſe, but the moſt fragrant perfumes of every kind. Laſt of all came the preſents which were to be made to the king, *viz.* herds of cattle, and a great number of horſes; as alſo lions and panthers, which were carried in cages. After theſe the magi walked, ſinging hymns after the manner of their country; then the Chaldeans, accompanied by the Babyloniſh ſoothſayers and muſicians. It was cuſtomary for the latter to ſing the praiſes of their king to their inſtruments; and the Chaldeans to obſerve the motion of the planets, and the viciſſitude of ſeaſons. The rear was brought up by the Babyloniſh cavalry, which, both men and horſes, were ſo ſumptuous that imagination can ſcarce reach their magnificence. The king cauſed the people to walk after his infantry, and himſelf, ſurrounded with his guards, and ſeated on a chariot, entered the city; and from thence rode to the palace, as in a kind of triumph. The next day he took a view of all Darius's money and moveables. Of the monies he found in Babylon, he gave, by way of extraordinary recompence, to each Macedonian horſeman, ſix minæ, about 15*l.*; to each mercenary horſeman two minæ, about 5*l.*; to every Macedonian foot ſoldier two minæ; and to every

one

one of the reſt two months of their ordinary pay. He gave orders, purſuant to the advice of the magi, with whom he had ſeveral conferences, for the rebuilding the temples which Xerxes had demoliſhed; and, among others, that of Belus, who was in greater veneration at Babylon than any other deity. He gave the government of the province to Mazæus, and the command of the forces he left there to Apollodorus of Amphipolis.

Alexander, in the midſt of the hurry and tumult of war, ſtill preſerved a love for the ſciences. He uſed often to converſe with the Chaldeans, who had always applied themſelves to the ſtudy of aſtronomy from its origin, and gained great fame by their knowledge in it. * They preſented him with aſtronomical obſervations taken by their predeceſſors during the ſpace of 1903 years, which conſequently went as far back as the age of Nimrod. Theſe were ſent by Calliſthenes, who accompanied Alexander, to Ariſtotle.

The king reſided longer in Babylon than he had done in any other city, which was of great prejudice to the diſcipline of his forces. The people, even from a religious motive, abandoned themſelves to pleaſures, to voluptuouſneſs, and the moſt infamous exceſſes; nor did ladies, though of the higheſt quality, obſerve any decorum, or ſhow the leaſt reſerve in their immoral actions, but gloried therein, ſo far from endeavouring to conceal them, or bluſhing at their enormity. It muſt be confeſſed, that this army of ſoldiers, which had triumphed over Aſia, after having thus enervated themſelves, and rioted, as it were, in the ſloth and luxury of the city of Babylon, for 34 days together, would have been ſcarce able to complete their exploits, had they been oppoſed by an enemy. But as they were reinforced from time to time, theſe irregularities were not ſo viſible; for Amyntas brought 6000 foot and 500 Macedonian horſe, which were ſent by Antipater; and 600 Thracian horſes, with 3500 foot of the ſame nation; beſides 4000 mercenaries from Peloponneſus, with near 400 horſes.

The above-mentioned Amyntas had alſo brought the king 50 Macedonian youths, ſons to noblemen of the higheſt quality in the country, to ſerve as his guards. The youths in queſtion waited upon him at table, brought him his horſes when in the field, attended upon him in parties of hunting, and kept guard at the door of his apartment by turns. And theſe were the firſt ſteps to the higheſt employments both in the army and the ſtate.

* Porphyr. apud Simplic. in lib. ii. de Cœlo.

After

After Alexander had left Babylon, he entered the province of Sitacena, the ſoil of which is very fruitful, and productive of every thing valuable, which made him continue the longer in it. But leaſt indolence ſhould enervate the courage of his ſoldiers, he propoſed prizes for ſuch of them as ſhould exert the greateſt bravery; and appointed, as judges of the actions of thoſe who ſhould diſpute this honour, perſons, who themſelves had been eye-witneſſes of the proofs of bravery which each ſoldier had given in the former battles; for on theſe only the prizes were to be beſtowed. To each of the eight men who were pronounced moſt valiant, he gave a regiment conſiſting of 1000 men; whence thoſe officers were called Chiliarchi. This was the firſt time that regiments were compoſed of ſo great a number of ſoldiers, conſiſting before but of 500, and had not yet been the reward of valour. The ſoldiers ran in crowds to view this illuſtrious fight, not only as eye-witneſſes of the actions of all, but as judges over the judges themſelves; becauſe they might perceive, very eaſily, whether rewards were beſtowed on merit, or merely by favour; a circumſtance in which ſoldiers can never be impoſed upon. The prizes ſeem to have been diſtributed with the utmoſt equity and juſtice.

He likewiſe made ſeveral very advantageous changes in military diſcipline, as eſtabliſhed by his predeceſſors; for he formed one ſingle body of his whole cavalry, without ſhewing any regard to the difference of nations, and appointed ſuch officers to command them as they themſelves thought fit to nominate; whereas before, the horſemen of every nation uſed to fight under his own particular ſtandard, and was commanded by a colonel of that country. The trumpet's ſound uſed to be the ſignal for the march; but, as it very frequently could not be well heard, becauſe of the great noiſe that it made in decamping, he gave orders that a ſtandard ſhould be ſet up over his tent, which might be ſeen by his whole army. He alſo appointed fire to be the ſignal in the night-time, and ſmoke in the day.

Alexander marched afterwards towards Suſa, where he arrived twenty days after his leaving Babylon. As he came near it, Abutites, governor of the province, ſent his ſon to meet him, with a promiſe to ſurrender the city into his hands. Whether he was prompted to this from his own inclination, or did it in obedience to the orders of Darius, to amuſe Alexander with the hopes of plunder, the king gave this young nobleman a very gracious reception, who attended him as far as the river Choaſpes, the waters of which are ſo famous, upon account of their exquiſite taſte. * The kings of Perſia never drank of any other; and whi-

* Herod. lib. i. c. 188.

therſoever

therſoever they went, a quantity of it, after having been put over the fire, was always carried after them in ſilver vaſes. It was here Abutites came to wait upon him, bringing preſents worthy of a king; among which were dromedaries of incredible ſwiftneſs, and 12 elephants which Darius had ſent for from India. Being come into the city, he took immenſe ſums out of the treaſury, with * 50,000 talents of ſilver in ore and ingots, beſides moveables, and a thouſand other things of infinite value. This wealth was the produce of the exactions impoſed for ſeveral centuries upon the common people, from whoſe ſweat and poverty immenſe revenues were raiſed. The Perſian monarchs fancied they had amaſſed them for their children and poſterity; but, in one hour, they fell into the hands of a foreign king, who was able to make a right uſe of them; for Alexander ſeemed to be merely the guardian or truſtee of the immenſe riches which he found hoarded up in Perſia, and applied them to no other uſe, than the rewarding of merit and courage.

Among other things, there were found † 5000 quintals of Hermione ‡ purple, the fineſt in the world, which had been treaſuring up there during the ſpace of 190 years; notwithſtanding which, its beauty and luſtre was no wiſe diminiſhed.

Here likewiſe was found part of the rarities which Xerxes had brought from Greece; and, among others, the brazen ſtatues of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, which Alexander ſent afterwards to Athens, where they were ſtanding in § Arrian's time.

The king, being reſolved to march into Perſia, appointed Archelaus governor of the city of Suſa, with a garriſon of 3000 men; Mazarus, one of the lords of his court, was made governor of the citadel, with 1000 Macedonian ſoldiers, who could not follow him by reaſon of their great age. He gave the government of Suſiana to Abutites.

He left Darius' mother and children in Suſa, and having received from Macedonia a great quantity of purple ſtuffs and rich habits, made after the faſhion of the country, he preſented them to Syſigambis, together with the artificers who had wrought them; for he paid her every kind of honour, and loved her as tenderly as if ſhe had been his mother. He likewiſe commanded

* About L.7,500,000.

† The reader will have an idea of the prodigious value of this, when he is told, that this purple was ſold at the rate of 100 livres a pound. The quintal is one cwt. of Paris.

‡ Hermione was a city of Argolis, where the beſt purple was dyed.

§ What Arrian aſcribes here to Alexander in regard to the ſtatues of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, is attributed by other hiſtorians to other princes.

the meſſengers to tell her, that in caſe ſhe fancied thoſe ſtuffs, ſhe might make her grandchildren learn the art of weaving them by way of amuſement; and to give them as preſents to whomſoever they ſhould think proper. At theſe words, the tears which fell from her eyes ſhowed but too evidently how greatly ſhe was diſpleaſed with theſe gifts; the working in wool being conſidered by the Perſian women as the higheſt ignominy. Thoſe who carried theſe preſents, having told the king that Syſigambis was very much diſſatisfied, he thought himſelf obliged to make an apology for what he had done, and adminiſter ſome conſolation to her. Accordingly he paid her a viſit, when he ſpoke thus: "Mother, "the ſtuff in which you ſee me clothed, was not only a gift of my "ſiſters, but wrought by their fingers. Hence I beg you to be- "lieve, that the cuſtom of my country miſled me; and do not "conſider that as an inſult, which was owing entirely to igno- "rance. I believe I have not, as yet, done any thing which I "knew interfered with your manners and cuſtoms. I was told, "that among the Perſians it is a ſort of crime for a ſon to ſeat "himſelf, in his mother's preſence, without firſt obtaining her "leave. You are ſenſible how cautious I have always been in "this particular; and that I never ſat down, till you had firſt laid "your commands upon me to do ſo. And every time that you "was going to fall proſtrate before me, I only aſk you, whether "I would ſuffer it? As the higheſt teſtimony of the veneration I "have for you, I always call you by the tender name of mother, "though this belongs properly to Olympias only, to whom I "owe my birth."

What I have juſt now related, may ſuggeſt two reflections, both which, in my opinion, are very natural, and at the ſame time of the utmoſt importance.

Firſt, we ſee to how great a height the Perſians, ſo vain and haughty in other reſpects, carried the veneration they ſhowed their parents. The reader, doubtleſs, remembers, that Cyrus the Great, in the midſt of his conqueſts, and the moſt exalted pitch to which fortune had raiſed him, would not accept of the advantageous offer made him by Cyaxares, his uncle, *viz.* of giving him his daughter in marriage, and Media for her dowry, till he had firſt adviſed with his father and mother, and obtained their conſent. Hiſtory informs us here, that among the Perſians* a ſon never dared to ſet himſelf before his mother, till he had firſt obtained her leave; and that to do otherwiſe was conſidered as a

* Scio apud vos, filium in conſpectu matris nefas eſſe conſidere, niſi cum illa permiſit. Q. Curt.

crime.

crime. Alas! how widely do our manners differ from so excellent an institution!

Secondly, I discover, in the same relation, several valuable footsteps of that happy simplicity which prevailed in ancient times, when it was the custom for ladies, though of the greatest distinction, to employ themselves in useful, and sometimes laborious works. Every one knows what is told us in scripture to this purpose concerning Rebecca, Rachael, and several others. We read in Homer, of princesses drawing themselves water from springs; and washing, with their own hands, the linen of their respective families*. Here the sisters of Alexander, that is, the daughters of a powerful prince, are employed in making clothes for their brother. The celebrated Lucretia used to spin in the midst of her female attendants. Augustus, who was sovereign of the world, wore, for several years together, no other clothes but what his wife and sisters made him. It was a custom in the northern parts of the world, not many years since, for the princess who then sat upon the throne, to prepare several of the dishes at every meal. In a word, needle-work, the care of domestic affairs, a serious and retired life, is the proper function of women; and for this they were designed by Providence. The depravity of the age has indeed affixed to these customs, which are very near as old as the creation, an idea of meanness and contempt: But then, what has it substituted in the room of the harsh and vigorous exercises which a just education enabled the sex to undertake, to that laborious and useful life which was spent at home? A soft indolence, a stupid idleness, frivolous conversations, vain amusements, a strong passion for public shows, and a frantic love of gaming. Let us compare these two characters, and then pronounce which of them may justly boast its being founded on good sense, solid judgment, and a taste for truth and nature. It must, nevertheless, be confessed, in honour of the fair sex of our nation, that several ladies among us, and those of the highest quality, make it not only a duty, but a pleasure, to employ themselves in needle-works, not of a trifling, but of the most useful kind; and to make part of their furniture with their own hands. I also might add, that great numbers of these adorn their minds with agreeable, and, at the same time, serious and useful studies.

Alexander, having taken his leave of Sysigambis, who now was extremely well satisfied, arrived on the banks of a river, called by

* Mater, hanc vestem, quam indutus sum, sororum non solum donum, sed etiam opus vides. Q. Curt.

the inhabitants Paſi-Tigris*. Having croſſed it with 9000 foot and 3000 horſe, conſiſting of Agrians, as well as of Grecian mercenaries, and a reinforcement of 3000 Thracians, he entered the country of the Uxii. This region lies near Suſa, and extends to the frontiers of Perſia; a narrow paſs only lying between it and Suſiana. Madathes commanded this province. † This man was not a time-ſerver, nor a follower of fortune; but faithful to his ſovereign, he reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity; and, for this purpoſe, had withdrawn into his own city, which ſtood in the midſt of craggy rocks, and was ſurrounded with precipices. Having been forced from thence, he retired into the citadel, whence the beſieged ſent 30 deputies to Alexander, to ſue for quarter; which they obtained at laſt, by the interceſſion of Syſigambis. The king not only pardoned Madathes, who was a near relation of that princeſs, but likewiſe ſet all the captives, and thoſe who had ſurrendered themſelves, at liberty; permitted them to enjoy their ſeveral rights and privileges; would not ſuffer the city to be plundered, but let them plough their lands without paying any tax or tribute. Could Syſigambis have poſſibly obtained more from her own ſon on this occaſion, had he been the victor?

The Uxii being ſubdued, Alexander gave part of his army to Parmenio, and commanded him to march it through the plain; whilſt himſelf, at the head of his light-armed troops, croſſed the mountains, which extend as far as Perſia. The fifth day he arrived at the paſs of Suſa. Ariobarzanes, with 4000 foot and 700 horſe, had taken poſſeſſion of thoſe rocks which are craggy on all ſides, and poſted the barbarians at the ſummit, out of the reach of arrows. He alſo had built a wall in thoſe paſſes, and encamped his forces under it. As ſoon as Alexander advanced, in order to attack him, the barbarians rolled, from the top of the mountains, ſtones of a prodigious ſize, which falling from rock to rock, ruſhed forward with the greater violence, and at once cruſhed to pieces whole bands of ſoldiers. The king, being very much terrified at this ſight, commanded a retreat to be ſounded; and it was with the utmoſt grief he ſaw himſelf not only ſtopped at this paſs, but deprived of all hopes of ever being able to force it.

Whilſt he was revolving theſe gloomy thoughts, a Grecian priſoner ſurrendered himſelf to Alexander, with a promiſe to con-

* This river differs from the Tigris.

† Haud ſane temporum homo: quippe ultima pro fide experiri decreverat. Q. Curt.

duct

duct him to the top of the mountain by another way. The king accepted of the offer, when, leaving the superintendence of the camp and of the army to Craterus, he commanded him to cause a great number of fires to be lighted, in order that the barbarians might thereby be more strongly induced to believe, that Alexander was there in person. After this, taking some chosen troops with him, he set out, going through all the by-ways, as his guide directed. But, besides that these paths were very craggy, and the rocks so slippery, that their feet could scarce stand upon them; the soldiers were also very much distressed by the snows which the winds had brought together, and which were so high, that the men fell into them, as into so many ditches; and, when their comrades endeavoured to draw them out, they themselves would likewise sink into them; not to mention, that their fears were greatly increased by the horrors of the night, by their being in an unknown country, and conducted by a guide whose fidelity was doubtful. After having gone through a great number of difficulties and dangers, they at last got to the top of the mountain. Then going down, they discovered the enemy's corps-de-garde, and appeared behind them, sword in hand, at a time when they least expected it. Such as made the least defence (who were but few) were cut to pieces; by which means, the cries of the dying on one side, and on the other the fright of those who were flying to their main body, spread so great a terror, that they fled, without striking a blow. At this noise, Craterus advanced, as Alexander had commanded at his going away, and seized the pass, which till then had resisted his attacks; and, at the same time, Philotas advanced forwards by another way, with Amyntas, Cœnus, and Polysperchon, and broke quite through the barbarians, who now were attacked on every side. The greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and those who fled, fell into precipices. Ariobarzanes, with part of the cavalry, escaped by flying over the mountains.

Alexander, from an effect of the good fortune which constantly attended him in all his undertakings, having extricated himself happily out of the danger to which he was so lately exposed, marched immediately towards Persia. Being on the road, he received letters from Tiridates, governor of Persepolis, which informed him, that the inhabitants of that city, upon the report of his advancing towards it, were determined to plunder Darius's treasures, with which he was intrusted, and therefore that it was necessary for him to make all the haste imaginable to seize them himself; that he had only the * Araxes to cross, after which the

* This is not the same river with that in Armenia.

road was ſmooth and eaſy. Alexander, upon this news, leaving his infantry behind, marched the whole night at the head of his cavalry, who were very much haraſſed by the length and ſwiftneſs of this march, and paſſed the Araxes on a bridge, which by his order had been built ſome days before.

But, as he drew near the city, he perceived a large body of men, who exhibited a memorable example of the greateſt miſery. Theſe were about 4000 Greeks, very far advanced in years, who, having been made priſoners of war, had ſuffered all the torments which the Perſian tyranny could inflict. The hands of ſome had been cut off, the feet of others; and others again had loſt their noſes and ears: after which, having impreſſed, by fire, barbarous characters on their faces, they had the inhumanity to keep them as ſo many laughing-ſtocks, with which they ſported perpetually. They appeared like ſo many ſhadows, rather than like men; ſpeech being almoſt the only thing by which they were known to be ſuch. Alexander could not refrain from tears at this ſight; and, as they unanimouſly beſought him to commiſerate their condition, he bid them, with the utmoſt tenderneſs, not to deſpond, and aſſured them, that they ſhould again ſee their wives and country. This propoſal, which one might ſuppoſe ſhould naturally have filled them with joy, perplexed them very much, various opinions ariſing on this occaſion. "How will it be poſſible," ſaid ſome of them, "for us to appear publicly before all Greece, "in the dreadful condition to which we are reduced; a condi- "tion ſtill more ſhameful than diſſatisfactory? The beſt way to "bear miſery is to conceal it; and no country is ſo ſweet to the "wretched as ſolitude, and an oblivion of their paſt calamities. "Beſides, how will it be poſſible for us to undertake ſo long a "journey? Driven to a great diſtance from Europe, baniſhed to "the moſt remote parts of the eaſt, worn out with age, and moſt "of our limbs maimed, can we pretend to undergo fatigues which "have even wearied a triumphant army? The only thing that "now remains for us, is to hide our miſery, and to end our days "among thoſe who are already ſo accuſtomed to our misfortunes." Others, in whom the love of their country extinguiſhed all other ſentiments, repreſented, "That the gods offered them what they "ſhould not even have dared to wiſh, *viz.* their country, their "wives, their children, and all thoſe things for whoſe ſake men "are fond of life, and deſpiſe death. That they had long enough "borne the ſad yoke of ſlavery; and that nothing happier could "preſent itſelf, than their being indulged the bliſs of going at "laſt to breathe their native air, to reſume their ancient manners, "laws, and ſacrifices, and to die in preſence of their wives and "children."

However,

However, the former opinion prevailed; and accordingly they beſought the king to permit them to continue in a country, where they had ſpent ſo many years. He granted their requeſt, and preſented each of them * 3000 drachms; five men's ſuits of clothes, and the ſame number for women; two couple of oxen to plough their lands, and corn to ſow them. He commanded the governor of the province not to ſuffer them to be moleſted in any manner, and ordered that they ſhould be free from taxes aad tributes of every kind. Such behaviour as this was truly royal. It was, indeed, impoſſible for Alexander to reſtore them the limbs of which the Perſians had ſo cruelly deprived them; but then he reſtored them to liberty, tranquillity, and abundance. Thrice happy thoſe princes, who are affected with the pleaſure which ariſes from the doing of good actions, and who melt with pity for the unfortunate!

Alexander, having called together, the next day, the generals of his army, repreſented to them, "That no city in the world "had ever been more fatal to the Greeks than Perſepolis, the "ancient reſidence of the Perſian monarchs, and the capital of "their empire; for that it was from thence all thoſe mighty "armies poured which had overflowed Greece, and whence Da-"rius, and afterwards Xerxes, had carried the firebrand of the "moſt accurſed war, which had laid waſte all Europe; and "therefore that it was incumbent on them to revenge the manes "of their anceſtors." It was already abandoned by the Perſians, who all fled ſeparately as fear drove them. Alexander entered it with his phalanx, when the victorious ſoldiers ſoon met with riches ſufficient to ſatiate their avarice, and immediately cut to pieces all thoſe who ſtill remained in the city. However the king ſoon put an end to the maſſacre, and publiſhed an order, by which his ſoldiers were forbid to violate the chaſtity of the women. Alexander had before poſſeſſed himſelf, either by force or capitulation, of a great number of incredibly rich cities; but all this was a trifle compared to the treaſures he found here. The barbarians had laid up at Perſepolis, as in a ſtorehouſe, all the wealth of Perſia. Gold and ſilver were never ſeen here but in heaps; not to mention the clothes and furniture of ineſtimable value; for this was the ſeat of luxury. There were found in the treaſury 120,000 talents †, which were deſigned to defray the expence of the war. To this prodigious ſum he added ‡ 6000 talents, taken from Paſagarda. This was a city which Cyrus had built, wherein the kings of Perſia uſed to be crowned.

* About L.150. † About 18,000,000 ſterl. ‡ About L.900,000.

During

During Alexander's ſtay in Perſepolis, a little before he ſet out upon his march againſt Darius, he entertained his friends at a banquet, at which the gueſts drank to exceſs. Among the women, who were admitted to it maſked, was Thais the courtezan, a native of Attica, and at that time miſtreſs to Ptolemy, who afterwards was king of Egypt. About the end of the feaſt, during which ſhe had ſtudiouſly endeavoured to praiſe the king in the moſt artful and delicate manner, a ſtratagem too often practiſed by women of that character, ſhe ſaid with a gay tone of voice, "That it would be matter of inexpreſſible joy to her, were "ſhe permitted, maſked as ſhe then was, and in order to end this "feſtival nobly, to burn the magnificent palace of Xerxes, who "had burned Athens; and to ſet it on fire with her own hand, in "order that it might be ſaid in all parts of the world, that the "women, who had followed Alexander in his expedition to Aſia, "had taken much better vengeance of the Perſians, for the many "calamities they had brought upon the Grecians, than all the "generals who had fought for them both by ſea and land." All the gueſts applauded the diſcourſe; when immediately the king roſe from table, his head being crowned with flowers, and taking a torch in his hand, he advanced forward to execute this mighty exploit. The whole company followed him, breaking into loud acclamations, and afterwards, ſinging and dancing, they ſurrounded the palace. All the reſt of the Macedonians, at this noiſe, ran in crowds, with lighted tapers, and ſet fire to every part of it. However, Alexander was ſorry, not long after, for what he had done; and thereupon gave orders for extinguiſhing the fire; but it was too late.

As he was naturally very bountiful, his great ſucceſſes increaſed this beneficent diſpoſition; and he accompanied the preſents he made with ſuch teſtimonies of humanity and kindneſs, and ſo obliging a carriage, as very much enhanced their merit. He exerted this temper in a particular manner towards the fifty Macedonian young lords, who ſerved under him as guards. Olympias his mother, thinking him too profuſe, wrote to him as follows: "I do not blame you," ſaid ſhe, "for being beneficent "towards your friends, for that is acting like a king: but then "a medium ought to be obſerved in your munificence. You "equal them all with kings, and by heaping riches upon them, "give them an opportunity of making a great number of friends, "of all whom you deprive yourſelf." As ſhe often wrote the ſame advice to him, he always kept her letters very ſecret, and did not ſhow them to any perſon; but happening to open one of them, and beginning to read it, Hephæſtion drew near to him, and read it

it over his ſhoulder, which the king obſerving, did not offer to hinder him; but taking only his ring from his finger, he put the ſeal of it upon the lips of his favourite, as an admonition to him not to divulge what he had read.

He uſed to ſend magnificent preſents to his mother: but then he would never let her have any concern in the affairs of the government. She uſed frequently to make very ſevere complaints upon that account, but he always ſubmitted to her ill humour with great mildneſs and patience. Antipater having one day wrote a long letter againſt her, the king, after reading it, replied, "Antipater does not know that one ſingle tear ſhed by a "mother will obliterate ten thouſand ſuch letters as this." A behaviour like this, and ſuch an anſwer, ſhow, at one and the ſame time, that Alexander was both a kind ſon and an able politican; and that he was perfectly ſenſible how dangerous it would have been, had he inveſted a woman of Olympias's character with the ſupreme authority.

## SECTION X.

### DARIUS LEAVES ECBATANA.—HIS DEATH.—ALEXANDER SENDS HIS CORPSE TO SYSIGAMBIS.

ALEXANDER*, after he had taken Perſepolis and Paſagarda, was reſolved to purſue Darius, who was arrived by this time at Ecbatana, the capital of Media. There remained ſtill with this fugitive prince 30,000 foot, among whom were 4000 Greeks, who were faithful to him to the laſt; beſides theſe, he had 4000 ſlingers, and upwards of 3000 cavalry, moſt of them Bactrians, commanded by Beſſus, governor of Bactria. Darius marched his forces a little out of the common road, having ordered his baggage to go before them; then aſſembling his principal officers, he ſpoke to them as follows: "Dear companions, among ſo "many thouſand men, who compoſed my army, you only have "not abandoned me during the whole courſe of my ill fortune; "and in a little time, nothing but your fidelity and conſtancy "will be able to make me fancy myſelf a king. Deſerters and "traitors now govern in my cities; not that they are thought "worthy of the honour beſtowed on them, but rewards are given "them only in the view of tempting you, and to ſtagger your "perſeverance. You ſtill choſe to follow my fortune rather than "that of the conqueror, for which you certainly have merited a "recompence from the gods; and I do not doubt but they will

* Diod. l. xvii. p. 540—546. Arrian. l. iii. p. 133—137. Plutarch in Alex. p. 689. Q. Curt. l. v. c. 8—14. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 15.

"prove

" prove beneficent towards you, in case that power is denied me. " With such soldiers and officers I would brave, without the " least dread, the enemy, how formidable soever he may be. " What! would any one have me surrender myself up to the mercy " of the conqueror, and expect from him, as a reward of my base- " ness and meanness of spirit, the government of some province " which he may condescend to leave me? No—it never shall be " in the power of any man, either to take away, or fix upon my " head the diadem I wear; the same hour shall put a period to " my reign and life. If you have all the same courage and resolu- " tion, which I can no ways doubt, I assure myself that you shall " retain your liberty, and not be exposed to the pride and insults " of the Macedonians. You have in your hands the means either " to revenge or terminate all your evils." Having ended this speech, the whole body of soldiers replied with shouts, that they were ready to follow him whithersoever he should go, and would shed the last drop of their blood in his defence.

Such was the resolution of the soldiery: but Nabarzanes, one of the greatest lords of Persia, and general of the horse, had conspired with Bessus, general of the Bactrians, to commit the blackest of all crimes, and that was, to seize upon the person of the king, and lay him in chains; which they might easily do, as each of them had a great number of soldiers under his command. Their design was, if Alexander should pursue them, to secure themselves, by giving up Darius alive into his hands; and, in case they escaped, to murder that prince, and afterwards usurp his crown, and begin a new war. These traitors soon won over the troops, by representing to them, that they were going to their destruction; that they would soon be crushed under the ruins of an empire, which was just ready to fall; at the same time that Bactriana was open to them, and offered them immense riches. Though these practices were carried on very secretly, they came however to the ear of Darius, who could not believe them. Patron, who commanded the Greeks, entreated him, but in vain, to pitch his tent among them, and to trust the guard of his person to men on whose fidelity he might depend. Darius could not prevail with himself to put so great an affront upon the Persians, and therefore made this answer: " That it would be " a less affliction to him to be deceived by, than to condemn them. " That he would suffer the worst of evils amidst those of his own " nation, rather than seek for security among strangers, how " faithful and affectionate soever he might believe them: and " that he could not but die too late, in case the Persian soldiers " thought him unworthy of life." It was not long before Da-

rius

rius experienced the truth of this counsel; for the traitors seized him, bound him in chains of gold, by way of honour, as he was a king, and then laying him in a covered chariot, they set out towards Bactriana.

Alexander being arrived at Ecbatana, was informed that Darius had left that city five days before. He then commanded Parmenio to lay up all the treasures of Persia in the castle of Ecbatana, under a strong guard which he left there. According to Strabo *, these treasures amounted to 180,000 talents, about L.27,000,000 sterling; and according to † Justin, to 4000 talents more, about L.1,500,000 sterling. He ordered him to march afterwards towards Hyrcania, by the country of the Cadusians, with the Thracians, the foreigners, and the rest of the cavalry, the royal companies excepted. He sent orders to Clitus, who stayed behind in Susa, where he fell sick, that as soon as he was arrived at Ecbatana, he should take the forces which were left in that city, and come to him in Parthia.

Alexander, with the rest of his army, pursued Darius, and arrived the eleventh day at ‡ Rhaga, which is a long day's journey from the Caspian Straits; but Darius had already passed through them. Alexander now despairing to overtake him, what dispatch soever he might make, staid there five days to rest his forces. He then marched against the Parthians, and that day pitched his camp near the Caspian Straits, and passed them the next. News were soon brought him, that Darius had been seized by the traitors; that Bessus had caused him to be drawn in a chariot, and had sent the unhappy monarch before, in order to be the surer of his person; that the whole army obeyed that wretch, Artabazus and the Greeks excepted, who not having a soul base enough to consent to so abominable a deed, and being too weak to prevent it, had therefore left the high road, and marched towards the mountains.

This was a fresh motive for him to hasten his march. The Barbarians, at his arrival, were seized with dread, though the match would not have been equal, had Bessus been as resolute for fighting as for putting in execution the detestable act above mentioned; for his troops exceeded the enemy both in number and strength, and were all cool and ready for the combat; whereas Alexander's troops were quite fatigned with the length of their march. But the name and reputation of Alexander, a motive all-powerful in war, filled them with such prodigious terror, that

* Strab. l. xv. p. 741. † Justin. l. xvii. c. 1.

‡ This is the city mentioned in Tobit, iii. 7.

they

they all fled. Beſſus and his accomplices being come up with Darius, they requeſted him to mount his horſe, and fly from the enemy: But he replied, that the gods were ready to revenge the evils he had ſuffered; and beſeeching Alexander to do him juſtice, he refuſed to follow a band of traitors. At theſe words they fell into ſuch a fury, that all threw their darts at him, and left him covered with wounds. After having perpetrated this horrid crime, they ſeparated, in order to leave different footſteps of their flight, and thereby elude the purſuit of the enemy, in caſe he ſhould follow them; or at leaſt oblige him to divide his forces. Nabarzanes took the way of Hyrcania, and Beſſus that of Bactriana, both being followed by a very few horſemen; and, as the Barbarians were by this means deſtitute of leaders, they diſperſed themſelves up and down, as fear or hope directed their ſteps.

After ſearching about in different places, Darius was at laſt found in a ſolitude, his body run through with ſpears, lying in a chariot, and drawing near his end. However, he had ſtrength enough before he died to call for drink, which a Macedonian, Polyſtratus by name, brought him. He had a Perſian priſoner, whom he employed as his intrepreter. Darius, after drinking the liquor that had been given him, turned to the Macedonian, and ſaid: "That in the deplorable ſtate to which he was reduced, "he however ſhould have the comfort to ſpeak to one who could "underſtand him, and that his laſt words would not be loſt. He "therefore charged him to tell Alexander, that he died in his "debt, though he had never obliged him. That he gave him a "multitude of thanks for the great humanity he had exerciſed to-"wards his mother, his wife, and his children, whoſe lives he "had not only ſpared, but reſtored them to their former ſplendor. "That he beſought the gods to give victory to his arms, and make "him monarch of the univerſe. That he thought he need not "entreat him to revenge the execrable murder committed on his "perſon, as this was the common cauſe of kings."

After this, taking Polyſtratus by the hand, "Give him," ſaid he, "thy hand, as I give thee mine; and carry him, in my "name, the only pledge I am able to give of my gratitude and "affection." Saying theſe words, he breathed his laſt. Alexander coming up a moment after, and ſeeing Darius' body, wept bitterly; and, by the ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of affection that could be given him, proved how intimately he was affected with the unhappineſs of a prince who deſerved a better fate. He immediately pulled off his military cloak, and threw it on Darius' body; then cauſing it to be embalmed, and his coffin to be adorned with a royal magnificence, he ſent it to Syſigambis, in order

that

that it might be interred with the honours usually paid to the deceased Persian monarchs, and be entombed with his ancestors.

* Thus died Darius, the third year of the 112th Olympiad, at about fifty years of age, six of which he had reigned. He was a gentle and pacific prince; his reign having been unsullied with injustice or cruelty, which was owing either to his natural lenity, or to his not having had an opportunity of acting otherwise, from the perpetual war he had carried on against Alexander all the time he had sat upon the throne. In him the Persian empire ended, after having existed 209 years, computing from the beginning of the reign of Cyrus the Great, the founder of it, under 13 kings, viz. Cyrus, Cambyses, Smerdis Magus, Darius son of Hystaspes, Xerxes I. Artaxerxes Longimanus, Xerxes II. Sogdianus, Darius Nothus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Artaxerxes Ochus, Arses, and Darius Codomanus.

## SECTION XI.

### VICES WHICH FIRST CAUSED THE DECLENSION, AND AT LAST THE RUIN, OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

THE death of Darius Codomanus may very justly be considered as the era, but not as the sole cause, of the destruction of the Persian monarchy. When we take a general view of the history of the kings above mentioned, and consider with some attention their different characters and methods of governing, whether in peace or war, we easily perceive that this declension was prepared at a great distance, and carried on to its end by visible steps which denoted a total ruin.

We may declare at first sight, that the declension of the Persian empire, and its fall, are owing to its origin and primitive institution. It had been formed by the union of two nations, who differed very much in manners and inclinations. The Persians were a sober, laborious, modest people; but the Medes were wholly devoted to pride, luxury, softness, and voluptuousness. The example of frugality and simplicity which Cyrus had set them, and their being obliged to be always under arms to gain so many victories, and support themselves in the midst of so many enemies, prevented those vices from spreading for some time: but after those nations had subjected all things, the fondness which the Medes had naturally for pleasures and magnificence, soon lessened the temperance of the Persians, and became, in a little time, the prevailing taste of the two nations.

* A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330.

Several other causes conspired to this. Babylon, when conquered, intoxicated its victors with her poisoned cup, and inchanted them with the charms of pleasure. She furnished them with such ministers and instruments, as were adapted to promote luxury, and to foment and cherish delights with art and delicacy: and the wealth of the richest provinces in the world being at the entire disposal of her sovereigns, they thereby were enabled to satiate all their desires.

Even Cyrus himself, as I observed elsewhere, contributed to this, without perceiving the consequence of it, and prepared men's minds by the splendid banquet he gave, after having ended his conquests; and when he showed himself in the midst of his troops, who had shared in his victories, with such a pomp and ostentation as were most capable of dazzling the eye. He began by inspiring them with an admiration for pomp and show, which they had hitherto despised. He suggested to them, that magnificence and riches were worthy of crowning the most glorious exploits, and the end and fruit of them: and by thus inspiring his subjects with a strong desire for things they saw so highly esteemed by a most accomplished prince, his example authorized them to abandon themselves to that gust without reserve.

He also spread this evil, by obliging his judges, officers, and governors of provinces, to appear in splendor before the people, the better to represent the majesty of the prince. On one side, these magistrates and commanders easily mistook these ornaments and trappings of their employments for the most essential parts of them, endeavouring to distinguish themselves by nothing but this glittering outside: and, on the other side, men of the greatest wealth in the provinces proposed them as so many patterns for their imitation, and were soon followed by persons of moderate fortune, whom those in the lowest stations of life endeavoured to equal.

So many causes of degeneracy uniting together, and being authorized publicly, soon destroyed the ancient virtue of the Persians. They did not sink, like the Romans, by imperceptible decays, which had been long foreseen, and often opposed. Scarce was Cyrus dead, but there rose up as it were another nation, and kings of a quite different genius and character. Men no longer discoursed of that manly, that severe education which was bestowed on the Persian youth; of those public schools of sobriety, patience, and emulation for virtue, nor of those laborious and warlike exercises; of all these there did not remain the smallest traces: Their young men being brought up in splendor and effeminacy, which they now saw was had in honour, immediately began to despise the happy simplicity of their forefathers, and formed,

formed, in the ſpace of one generation, an entire new ſet of people, whoſe manners, inclinations, and maxims, were directly oppoſite to thoſe of ancient times. They grew haughty, vain, effeminate, inhuman, and perfidious in treaties; and acquired this peculiar character, that they, of all people, were the moſt abandoned to ſplendor, luxury, feaſting, and even to drunkenneſs: So that we may affirm, that the empire of the Perſians was, almoſt at its birth, what other empires grew up to through length of time only, and began where others end. It bore the principle of its deſtruction in its own boſom, and this internal vice increaſed every reign.

After the unſucceſsful expeditions of Darius and Xerxes againſt Scythia and Greece, the princes their ſucceſſors became inſenſible to the ambition of making conqueſts, and gave themſelves up a prey to idleneſs and effeminacy: They grew careleſs of military diſcipline, and ſubſtituted in the place of regular ſoldiers, inured to the toils of war, a confuſed multitude of men, who were taken by force out of their reſpective countries. The reader may have obſerved, on more than one occaſion, that the whole ſtrength, and almoſt the only reſource of the Perſian army, lay in the Greeks in their ſervice; that they properly depended on them only, and always took great care to oppoſe them to the beſt troops of the enemy: They were the only ſoldiers in Darius's army who performed their duty, and continued faithful to him to the laſt; and we have ſeen that Memnon the Rhodian was the ſole great general who fought againſt Alexander.

Inſtead of chooſing for the command of their forces, officers of ſkill and experience, they uſed to appoint perſons of the greateſt quality of every nation, who frequently had no other merit than their exalted birth, their riches and credit; and who were diſtinguiſhed by nothing but the ſumptuouſneſs of their feaſts and entertainments, by the magnificence of their equipages, and by the crowd with which they were ever ſurrounded, of guards, domeſtics, eunuchs, and women. Such an aſſemblage, formed merely for vain ſhow and oſtentation, rather than for warlike expeditions, incumbered an army, already but too numerous, with uſeleſs ſoldiers, made it ſlow in marches and movements by its too heavy baggage, and rendered it incapable of ſubſiſting long in a country, and of completing great enterpriſes in ſight of an enemy.

The Perſian monarchs ſhutting themſelves up in their palaces, in order to abandon themſelves to pleaſures, and appearing ſeldom abroad, placed their whole confidence, and by that means all their authority, in eunuchs, to women, to ſlaves, and to flattering courtiers, whoſe ſole thoughts and endeavours were to baniſh true

merit, which was offenfive to them; to give the rewards appointed for fervices to their own creatures; and to intruft the greateft employments of the ftate to perfons devoted to their intereſted and ambitious views, rather than to fuch whofe abilities rendered them capable of ſerving their country.

Another character of theſe princes, which is but too frequent in that high ſphere, contributed very much to the ruin of the empire. They were accuſtomed from their infancy to have their ears ſoothed with falſe praiſes, and the moſt extravagant compliments, and to have a blind ſubmiſſion paid to their will. They were educated in ſo exalted an idea of their own grandeur, as perſuaded them that the reſt of men were formed merely to ſerve them, and adminiſter to their pleaſures. They were not taught their duties, nor the maxims of a wiſe and good government; the principles by which men judge of ſolid merit, and are capable of chooſing perſons able to govern under them. They did not know that they were raiſed to ſovereign power merely to protect their ſubjects and make them happy. They were not made ſenſible of the exquiſite pleaſure that monarch feels, who is the delight of his ſubjects, and the public ſource of the felicity of ſo vaſt an empire, as Cyrus the Great had been, who was ſo dear to his people, that every individual family conſidered him as their father, and bewailed his death as a public calamity. So far from this, a monarch's grandeur was declared to conſiſt in making himſelf feared, and in his being able to gratify all his paſſions with impunity.

So ill-judged an education muſt neceſſarily form either weak or vicious princes. They were not able to ſuſtain the weight of ſo mighty an empire, nor to graſp the ſeveral parts of ſo extenſive and painful an adminiſtration. Idleneſs, and a love for pleaſure, made them careleſs, and adverſe to buſineſs of every kind; and they ſacrificed matters of the higheſt importance to their vain amuſements. Some of them were born with ſuch happy diſpoſitions, that they would have become good princes, had they not been enervated by the charms of a voluptuous life, and abandoned themſelves to the allurements of a too deſpotic power, and an over-great proſperity. By flattery, they were rendered incapable of liſtening, in their councils, to any expreſſion delivered with freedom, or of ſuffering the leaſt oppoſition to their wills.

It was no wonder they were not beloved by their ſubjects, ſince their whole ſtudy was to aggrandize themſelves, and to ſacrifice all conſiderations to that alone. Darius, in his misfortunes, was abandoned by the generals of his armies, by the governors of his provinces, by his officers, domeſtics, and ſubjects; and did not

not find any where a ſincere affection, nor a real attachment to his perſon and intereſt. The dazzling ſplendor of the Perſian monarchy concealed a real weakneſs; and this unwieldy power, heightened by ſo much pomp and pride, was abhorred by the people; ſo that this coloſſus, at the very firſt blow, fell to the ground.

## SECTION XII.

### LACEDÆMONIA REVOLTS FROM THE MACEDONIANS.—ANTIPATER DEFEATS AGIS.—ALEXANDER MARCHES AGAINST BESSUS.

WHILST things paſſed in Aſia as we have ſeen*, ſome tumults broke out in Greece and Macedonia. Memnon, whom Alexander had ſent into Thrace, having revolted there, and thereby drawn the forces of Antipater on that ſide, the Lacedæmonians thought this a proper opportunity to throw off the Macedonian yoke, and engaged almoſt all Peloponneſus in their deſign. Upon this news, Antipater, after having ſettled to the beſt of his power the affairs of Thrace, returned with the utmoſt expedition into Greece, whence he immediately diſpatched couriers, in order to give Alexander an account of theſe ſeveral tranſactions. As ſoon as Antipater was come up with the enemy, he reſolved to venture a battle. The Lacedæmonian army conſiſted of no more than 20,000 foot, and 2000 horſe, under the command of Agis their king; whereas that of Antipater was twice that number. Agis, in order to make the ſuperiority of numbers of no effect, had made choice of a narrow ſpot of ground. The battle began with great vigour, each party endeavouring to ſignalize themſelves in an extraordinary manner, for the honour of their reſpective countries; the one fired with the remembrance of their priſtine glory, and the other animated by their preſent greatneſs, fought with equal courage; the Lacedæmonians for liberty, and the Macedonians for empire. So long as the armies continued on the ſpot where the battle began, Agis had the advantage; but Antipater, by pretending to fly, drew the enemy into the plains; after which, extending his whole army, he gained a ſuperiority, and made a proper uſe of his advantage. Agis was diſtinguiſhed by his ſuit of armour, his noble mien, and ſtill more ſo by his valour. The battle was hotteſt round his perſon, and he himſelf performed the moſt aſtoniſhing acts of bravery. At laſt, after having been wounded in ſeveral parts of his body, his ſoldiers laying him upon his ſhield, carried him off. However this did

* A. M. 3675. Ant. J. C. 329. Diod. l. xvii. p. 537. Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 1.

not damp their courage, for having ſeized an advantageous poſt where they kept cloſe in their ranks, they reſiſted with great vigour the attacks of the enemy. After having withſtood them a long time, the Lacedæmonians began to give ground, being ſcarce able to hold their arms, which were all covered with ſweat; they afterwards retired very faſt, and at laſt ran quite away. The king, ſeeing himſelf cloſely purſued, ſtill made ſome efforts, notwithſtanding the weak condition to which he was reduced, in order to oppoſe the enemy. Intrepid and invincible to the laſt, oppreſſed by numbers, he died ſword in hand.

In this engagement, upwards of 3000 Lacedæmonians loſt their lives, and 1000 Macedonians at moſt; but very few of the latter returned home unwounded. This victory not only ruined the power of Sparta and its allies, but alſo the hopes of thoſe who only waited the iſſue of this war, to declare themſelves. Antipater immediately ſent the news of this ſucceſs to Alexander; but, like an experienced courtier, he drew the account of it in the moſt modeſt and circumſpect terms; in ſuch as were beſt adapted to diminiſh the luſtre of a victory which might expoſe him to envy. He was ſenſible, that Alexander's jealouſy, with regard to honour, was ſo very great, that he looked upon the glory which another perſon obtained, as a diminution of his own: and, * indeed, he could not forbear, when this news was brought him, to let drop ſome words which diſcovered his jealouſy. Antipater did not dare to diſpoſe of any thing by his own private authority, and only gave the Lacedæmonians leave to ſend an embaſſy to the king, in order that they themſelves might tell him the ill ſucceſs they had met with. Alexander pardoned them, ſome of thoſe who had occaſioned the revolt excepted, and theſe he puniſhed.

† Darius's death did not hinder Alexander from purſuing Beſſus, who had withdrawn into Bactriana, where he had aſſumed the title of king, by the name of Artaxerxes. But finding at laſt that it would be impoſſible for him to come up with him, he returned into Parthia; and reſting his troops ſome days in Hecatompylos, commanded proviſions of all ſorts to be brought thither.

During his ſtay there, a report prevailed throughout the whole army, that the king, content with the conqueſts he had atchieved, was preparing to return into Macedonia. That very inſtant the

* Alexander hoſtes vinci voluerat; Antipatrum viciſſe, ne tacitus quidem indignabatur, ſuæ demptum gloriæ exiſtimans quicquid ceſſiſſet alienæ. Q. Curt.

† Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 2—4.

ſoldiers,

ſoldiers, as if a ſignal had been made for their ſetting out, ran like madmen to their tents, began to pack up their baggage, load the waggons with the utmoſt diſpatch, and fill the whole camp with noiſe and tumult. Alexander was ſoon informed of this, when, terrified at the diſorder, he ſummoned the officers to his tent, where, with tears in his eyes, he complained, that in the midſt of ſo glorious a career, he was ſtopped on a ſudden, and forced to return back into his own country, rather like one who had been overcome, than as a conqueror. The officers comforted him, by repreſenting, that this ſudden motion was a mere ſally, and a tranſient guſt of paſſion, which would not be attended with any ill conſequences; and aſſured him, that the ſoldiers, to a man, would obey him, provided he would addreſs himſelf to them in tender expreſſions. He promiſed to do it. The circumſtance which had given occaſion to this falſe report, was, his having diſbanded ſome Grecian ſoldiers, after rewarding them in a very bountiful manner; ſo that the Macedonians imagined they alſo were to fight no more.

Alexander having ſummoned the army, made the following ſpeech: "I am not ſurpriſed, O ſoldiers, if, after the mighty "things we have hitherto performed, you ſhould be ſatiated with "glory, and have no other views but eaſe and repoſe. I will "not now enumerate the various nations we have conquered. "We have ſubdued more provinces than others have cities. "Could I perſuade myſelf, that our conqueſts were well ſecured, "over nations who were ſo ſoon overcome, I would think as you "do (for I will not diſſemble my thoughts), and would make all "the haſte imaginable to reviſit my houſehold gods, my mother, "my ſiſters, and my ſubjects, and enjoy in the midſt of my coun- "try the glory I have acquired in concert with you. But this "glory will all vaniſh very ſoon, if we do not put the laſt hand "to the work. Do you imagine, that ſo many nations, accuſ- "tomed to other ſovereigns, and who have no manner of ſimili- "tude to us either in their religion, manners, or language, were "entirely ſubdued the moment they were conquered; and that "they will not take up arms, in caſe we return back with ſo "much precipitation? What will become of the reſt who ſtill re- "main unconquered? How! ſhall we leave our victory imper- "fect, merely for want of courage? But that which touches me "much more; ſhall we ſuffer the deteſtable crime of Beſſus to "go unpuniſhed? Can you bear to ſee the ſceptre of Darius in "the ſanguinary hands of that monſter, who, after having loaded "him with chains, as a captive, at laſt aſſaſſinated his ſovereign, "in order to deprive us of the glory of ſaving him? As for my-

"ſelf,

" ſelf, I ſhall not be eaſy till I ſee that infamous wretch hanging " on a gibbet, there to pay, to all kings and nations of the earth, " the juſt puniſhment due to his execrable crime. I do not know " whether I am miſtaken; but methinks I read his ſentence of " death in your countenance; and that the anger which ſparkles " in your eyes, declares you will ſoon imbrue your hands in that " traitor's blood."

The ſoldiers would not ſuffer Alexander to proceed; but clapping their hands, they all cried aloud, that they were ready to follow wherever he would lead them. All the ſpeeches of this prince generally produced this effect. In how deſponding a condition ſoever they might be, one ſingle word from him revived their courage in an inſtant, and inſpired them with that martial alacrity and ardour, which appeared always in his face. The king, taking advantage of this favourable diſpoſition of his whole army, croſſed Parthia, and in three days arrived on the frontiers of Hyrcania, which ſubmitted to his arms. He afterwards ſubdued the Mardi, the Arii, the Drangæ, the Archoſi, and ſeveral other nations, into which his army marched, with greater ſpeed than people generally travel. He frequently would purſue an enemy for whole days and nights together, almoſt without ſuffering his troops to take any reſt. By this prodigious rapidity, he came unawares upon nations who thought him at a great diſtance, and ſubdued them before they had time to put themſelves in a poſture of defence. Under this image Daniel the prophet ſhadowed Alexander many ages before his birth, by repreſenting him as a panther, a leopard, and a goat, who ruſhed forward with ſo much ſwiftneſs, that his feet ſeemed not to touch the ground.

* Nabarzanes, one of Beſſus's accomplices, who had written before to Alexander, came and ſurrendered himſelf, upon promiſe of a pardon, when he heard that he was arrived at Zadracarta, the capital of Hyrcania; and, among other preſents, brought him Bagoas the eunuch, who afterwards gained as great an aſcendant over Alexander, as before over Darius.

At the ſame time arrived Thaleſtris, queen of the Amazons. A violent deſire of ſeeing Alexander had prompted that princeſs to leave her dominions, and travel through a great number of countries to gratify her curioſity. Being come pretty near his camp, ſhe ſent word that a queen was come to viſit him; and that ſhe had a prodigious inclination to cultivate his acquaintance, and accordingly was arrived within a little diſtance from that

* Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 5.

place.

place. Alexander having returned her a favourable anſwer, ſhe commanded her train to ſtop, and herſelf came forward with 300 women; and the moment ſhe perceived the king, ſhe leaped from her horſe, having two lances in her right hand. The dreſs the Amazons uſed to wear, did not quite cover the body; for their boſom being uncovered on the left ſide, every other part of their body was hid; their gowns being tucked up with a knot, and ſo deſcended no farther than their knee. They preſerved their right breaſt to ſuckle their female offspring, but uſed to burn their left, that they might be the better enabled to bend the bow and throw the dart, whence they were called * Amazons.

Thaleſtris † looked upon the king without diſcovering the leaſt ſign of admiration, and ſurveying him attentively, did not think his ſtature anſwerable to his fame; for the barbarians are very much ſtruck with a majeſtic air, and think thoſe only capable of mighty atchievements, on whom nature has beſtowed bodily advantages. She did not ſcruple to tell him, that the chief motive of her journey was to have poſterity by him; adding, that ſhe was worthy of giving heirs to his empire. Alexander, upon this requeſt, was obliged to make ſome ſtay in this place; after which Thaleſtris returned to her kingdom, and the king into the province inhabited by the Parthians. This ſtory, and whatever is related of the Amazons, is looked upon by ſome very judicious authors as entirely fabulous.

‡ Alexander devoted himſelf afterwards wholly to his paſſions, changing into pride and debauch, the moderation and continence for which he had hitherto been ſo greatly admired; virtues ſo very neceſſary in an exalted ſtation of life, and in the midſt of a ſeries of proſperities. He was now no longer the ſame man. Though he was invincible with regard to the dangers and toils of war, he was far otherwiſe with reſpect to the charms of eaſe. The inſtant he enjoyed a little repoſe, he abandoned himſelf to ſenſuality; and he, whom the arms of the Perſians could not conquer, fell a victim to their vices. Nothing was now to be ſeen but games, parties of pleaſure, women, and exceſſive feaſting, in which he uſed to revel whole days and nights. Not ſatisfied with the buffoons, and the performers on inſtrumental muſic, whom he had brought with him out of Greece, he obliged the captive wo-

* This is a Greek word, ſignifying, without breaſts.

† Interrito vultu regem Thaleſtris intuebatur, habitum ejus haudquaquam rerum famæ parem oculis perluſtrans. Quippe omnibus barbaris in corporum majeſtate veneratio eſt; magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quam quos eximia ſpecie donare natura dignata eſt. Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 5.

‡ Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 6.

men,

men, whom he carried along with him, to ſing ſongs after the manner of their country. He happened, among theſe women, to perceive one who appeared in deeper affliction than the reſt, and who, by a modeſt, and at the ſame time a noble confuſion, diſcovered a greater reluctance than the others, to appear in public. She was a perfect beauty, which was very much heightened by her baſhfulneſs, whilſt ſhe threw her eyes to the ground, and did all in her power to conceal her face. The king ſoon imagined by her air and mien that ſhe was not of vulgar birth; and inquiring himſelf into it, the lady anſwered, that ſhe was granddaughter to Ochus, who not long before had ſwayed the Perſian ſceptre, and daughter of his ſon; that ſhe had married Hyſtaſpes, who was related to Darius, and general of a great army. Alexander being touched with compaſſion, when he heard the unhappy fate of a princeſs of the blood royal, and the ſad condition to which ſhe was reduced, not only gave her liberty, but returned all her poſſeſſions; and cauſed her huſband to be ſought for, in order that ſhe might be reſtored to him.

This prince was naturally of ſo tender and humane a diſpoſition, as made him ſenſible of the affliction of perſons in the loweſt condition. *A poor Macedonian was one day leading before him a mule, laden with gold for the king's uſe; the beaſt being ſo tired that he was not able either to go on or ſuſtain the load, the mule-driver took it up and carried it, but with great difficulty, a conſiderable way. Alexander, ſeeing him juſt ſinking under his burden, and going to throw it on the ground, in order to eaſe himſelf, cried out, "Friend, do not be weary yet; try and carry "it quite through to thy tent, for it is all thy own.

†Alexander, in a very difficult march through barren places, at the head of a ſmall body of horſe, when he purſued Darius, met ſome Macedonians who were carrying water in goat-ſkins upon mules. Theſe Macedonians perceiving their prince was almoſt parched with thirſt, occaſioned by the raging heat (the ſun being then at the meridian), immediately filled a helmet with water, and were running to preſent him with it. Alexander aſking to whom they were carrying all that water, they replied, "We were "going to carry it to our children; but do not let your majeſty "be uneaſy, for if your life is but ſaved, we ſhall get children "enough, in caſe we ſhould loſe theſe." At theſe words Alexander takes the helmet, and looking quite round him, he ſaw all his horſemen hanging down their heads, and with eyes fixed earneſtly on the liquor he held, ſwallow it, as it were, with their

* Plut. in Alex. p. 687. † Ibid.

glances

lances; upon which he returned it, with thanks, to thoſe who ad offered it him, and did not drink ſo much as a ſingle drop, ut cried, "There is not enough for my whole company; and ſhould I drink alone, it would make the reſt be thirſtier, and they would quite die away." The officers who were on horſe-ack round him, ſtruck in the moſt ſenſible manner with his won-erful temperance and magnanimity, entreated him, with ſhouts, o carry them wherever he thought fit, and not ſpare them in any anner; that now they were not in the leaſt tired, nor felt the aſt thirſt; and that as long as they ſhould be commanded by ſuch king, they could not think themſelves mortal men.

Such ſentiments as theſe, which ariſe from a generous and ten-er diſpoſition, reflect a greater honour on a prince than the reateſt victories and conqueſts. Had Alexander always cheriſhed hem, he would juſtly have merited the title of Great; but a too lorious and uninterrupted ſeries of proſperity, which is too heavy or mortals to ſuſtain, inſenſibly effaced them from his mind, and ade him forget that he was a man; for now, contemning the uſtoms of his own country, as no longer worthy the ſovereign of he univerſe, he laid aſide the dreſs, the manners, and way of fe of the Macedonian monarchs, looking upon them as too plain nd ſimple, and derogatory to his grandeur. He even went ſo ar as to imitate the pomp of the Perſian kings, in that very cir-umſtance in which they ſeemed to equal themſelves to the gods: mean, by requiring thoſe who had conquered nations to fall roſtrate at his feet, and pay him a kind of homage which be-ame only ſlaves. He had turned his palace into a ſeraglio, filling t with 360 concubines, the ſame number as Darius kept, and vith bands of eunuchs, of all mankind the moſt infamous. Not atisfied with wearing a Perſian robe himſelf, he alſo obliged his generals, his friends, and all the grandees of his court, to put on he ſame dreſs, which gave them the greateſt mortification, not one of them however daring to ſpeak againſt this innovation, or contradict the prince in any manner.

The veteran ſoldiers who had fought under Philip, not having the leaſt idea of ſenſuality, inveighed publicly againſt this pro-digious luxury, and the numerous vices which the army had learned in Suſa and Ecbatana. The ſoldiers would frequently expreſs themſelves in the following terms: "That they had loſt "more by victory than they had gained: That as the Macedo-"nians had thus aſſumed the manners and cuſtoms of foreigners, "they might properly be ſaid to be conquered. That therefore "the only benefit they ſhould reap from their long abſence, "would be, to return back to their own country in the habit of "Barbarians;

" Barbarians; that Alexander was aſhamed of, and deſpiſed them; " that he choſe to reſemble the vanquiſhed rather than the victorious; and that he, who before had been king of Macedonia, " was now become one of Darius's lieutenants."

The king was not ignorant of the diſcontent which reigned both in his court and army, and endeavoured to recover the eſteem and friendſhip of both by his beneficence; but * ſlavery, though purchaſed at ever ſo high a rate, muſt neceſſarily be odious to free-born men. He therefore thought, that the ſafeſt remedy would be to employ them, and for that purpoſe led them againſt Beſſus. But as the army was encumbered with booty and an uſeleſs train of baggage, that it could ſcarce move, he firſt cauſed all his own baggage to be carried into a great ſquare, and afterwards that of his army, ſuch things excepted as were abſolutely neceſſary; then ordered the whole to be carried from thence in carts to a large plain. Every one was in great pain to know the meaning of all this; but after he had ſent away the horſes, he himſelf ſet fire to his own things, and commanded every one to follow his example. Upon this the Macedonians lighted up the fire with their own hands, and burned the rich ſpoils they had purchaſed with their blood, and often forced out of the midſt of the flames. Such a ſacrifice muſt certainly have been made with the utmoſt reluctance; but the example the king ſet them ſilenced all their complaints, and they ſeemed leſs affected at the loſs of their baggage, than at their neglect of military diſcipline. A ſhort ſpeech the king made, ſoothed all their uneaſineſs; and, being now more able to exert themſelves hereafter, they ſet out with joy, and marched towards Bactriana. In this march they met with difficulties which would have quite damped any one but Alexander; but nothing could daunt his ſoul, or check his progreſs; for he put the ſtrongeſt confidence in his good fortune, which indeed never forſook that hero, but extricated him from a thouſand perils, wherein one would have naturally ſuppoſed both himſelf and his army muſt have periſhed.

†Being arrived among the Drangæ, a danger to which he had not been accuſtomed gave him very great uneaſineſs; and this was, the report of a conſpiracy that was formed againſt his perſon. One Dymnus, a man of no great figure at court, was the contriver of this treaſon; and the motive of it was, ſome private diſguſt which he had received. He had communicated his execrable

* Sed, ut opinor, liberis pretium ſervitutis ingratum eſt. Q. Curt.

† Diod. l. xvii. p. 550, 551. Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 7, 11. et l. vii. c. i. 2. Arrian. l. iii. p. 141, 142. Plut. in Alex. p. 692, 693.

deſign

to a young man, Nicomachus by name, who revealed it to Cebalinus, his brother. The latter immediately whiſpered it to Philotas, earneſtly entreating him to acquaint the king with it, becauſe every moment was of the utmoſt conſequence, and that the conſpirators were to execute their horrid deed in three days. Philotas, after applauding his fidelity, waited immediately upon the king, and diſcourſed on a great variety of ſubjects, but without taking the leaſt notice of the plot. In the evening Cebalinus meeting him as he was coming out, and aſking whether he had done as requeſted, he anſwered, that he had not found an opportunity of mentioning it to his majeſty, and went away. The next day this young man went up to him as he was going into the palace, and conjured him not to forget what he had told him the day before. Philotas replied, that he would be ſure not to forget it; and however did not perform his promiſe. This made Cebalinus ſuſpect him; and fearing, that in caſe the conſpiracy ſhould be diſcovered by any other perſon, his ſilence would be interpreted as criminal, he therefore got another perſon to diſcloſe it to Alexander. The prince having heard the whole from Cebalinus himſelf, and being told how many times he had conjured Philotas to acquaint him with it, firſt commanded Dymnus to be brought before him. The latter gueſſing upon what account he was ſent for by the king, ran himſelf through with his ſword; but the guards having prevented this wretch from completing the deed, he was carried to the palace. The king aſked him, why he thought Philotas more worthy than he was of the kingdom of Macedon? But he was quite ſpeechleſs; ſo that, after fetching a deep ſigh, he turned his head aſide, and breathed his laſt.

The king afterwards ſent for Philotas, and ſpeaking to him (having firſt commanded every body to withdraw), he aſked whether Cebalinus had really urged him ſeveral times to tell him of a plot which was carrying on againſt him. Philotas, without diſcovering the leaſt confuſion in his countenance, confeſſed ingenuouſly that he had; but made his apology, by ſaying, that the perſon who had whiſpered this, did not appear to him worthy of the leaſt credit. He confeſſed, however, that Dymnus's death plainly ſhowed he had acted very imprudently, in concealing ſo long a deſign of ſo black a nature. Upon which, acknowledging his fault, he fell at the king's feet; which he embraced, and beſought him to conſider his paſt life, rather than the fault he had now committed, which did not proceed from any bad deſign, but from the fear he was under of alarming, very unſeaſonably, the king, ſhould he communicate a deſign, which he really ſuppoſed was without foundation. It is no eaſy matter to ſay, whe-

ther Alexander believed what Philotas said, or only dissembled his anger. But however this be, he gave him his hand, in token of reconciliation; and told him, that he was persuaded he had despised, rather than concealed the affair.

Philotas was both envied and hated by a great number of courtiers; and indeed it was hardly possible it should be otherwise, because none of them was more familiar with the king, or more esteemed by him. Instead of softening and moderating the lustre of the distinguished favour he enjoyed by an air of sweetness and humanity, he seemed, on the contrary, to endeavour nothing so much as to excite the envy of others, by affecting a silly pride, which generally displayed itself in his dress, his retinue, his equipage, and his table; and still more so, by the haughty airs he assumed, which made him universally hated. Parmenio, his father, disgusted at his lofty behaviour, said one day to him*, "My son, make thyself less." The strongest sense is couched under these words; and it is evident, that the man who uttered them, was perfectly acquainted with the genius of courts. He used often to give Philotas advice to this effect; but too exalted a prosperity is apt to make men both deaf and blind; and they cannot persuade themselves, that favour, which is established on so seemingly solid a foundation, can ever change; the contrary of which Philotas found to his sorrow.

† His former conduct, with regard to Alexander, had given the latter just reason to complain of him; for he used to take the liberty to speak disrespectfully of the king, and applaud himself in the most haughty terms. Opening one day his heart to a woman, Antigona by name, with whom he was in love, he began to boast, in a very insolent manner, his father's services and his own: "What would Philip," said he, "have been, had it "not been for Parmenio? And what would Alexander be, were "it not for Philotas? What would become of his pretended divi- "nity, and his father Ammon, should we undertake to expose "this fiction?" All these things were repeated to Alexander, and Antigona herself made oath, that such words had been spoken. The king had nevertheless taken no notice of all this, nor so much as once let drop the least word which showed his resentment upon that occasion, even when he was most intoxicated with liquor; he had not so much as hinted it to his friends, nor even to Hephæstion, from whom he scarce concealed any thing. But the crime Philotas was now accused of, recalled to his memory the disgust he had formerly entertained.

* Ω παῖ, χείρων μοὶ γίνε.

† Plut. de fortun. Alex. c. 2. p. 339.

Immediately

Immediately after the converſation he had with Philotas, he held a council compoſed of his chief confidents. Craterus, for whom Alexander had a great eſteem, and who envied Philotas the more upon that very account, looked upon this as a very happy occaſion for ſupplanting his rival. Concealing therefore his hatred, under a ſpecious pretence of zeal, he ſuggeſted to the king, "The "apprehenſions he might juſtly be under, both from Philotas "himſelf, becauſe mercy is not apt to work any change in a heart, "which could be corrupt enough to entertain ſo deteſtable a "crime, and from Parmenio, his father, who, ſaid he, will never "be able to bear the thoughts of his owing his ſon's life to the "king's clemency. Some beneficial acts are ſo great, that they "become a burden to thoſe on whom they are conferred, for "which reaſon they do all in their power to eraſe them from their "memory. And further, who can aſſure us, that both father "and ſon are not engaged in the conſpiracy? When a prince's "life is in danger, every thing is of importance; and all things, "even to the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions, are ſo many proofs. Can we "conceive it poſſible, that a favourite, on whom his ſovereign has "beſtowed the moſt ſhining marks of his beneficence, ſhould be "calm and undiſturbed, upon his being told an affair of ſuch "mighty importance? But we are told, that this deſign was "communicated by young people, who deſerved very little credit. "Wherefore then did he keep them in ſuſpence two days, as if "he really believed what they told him, and ſtill promiſed them "that he would reveal the whole affair to the king? Who does "not ſee, that he did this merely to prevent their having acceſs "by another way to his majeſty? Sir," continued he, "it is ne"ceſſary, for your own ſake and that of the ſtate, for us to put "Philotas to the torture; in order to force from his own mouth "an account of this plot, and the ſeveral perſons who are his ac"complices in it." This being the opinion of all the members of the council, the king came into it. He then diſmiſſed the aſſembly, having firſt enjoined them ſecrecy; and the better to conceal his reſolution, gave orders for the army's marching the next day, and even invited Philotas to ſupper with him.

In the beginning of the night, various parties of guards having been poſted in the ſeveral places neceſſary, ſome entered the tent of Philotas, who was then in a deep ſleep; when ſtarting from his ſlumbers, as they were putting manacles on his hands, he cried, "Alas! my ſovereign, the inveteracy of my enemies has "got the better of your goodneſs." After this, they covered his face, and brought him to the palace without uttering a ſingle word. The next morning, the Macedonians, according to an

order publiſhed for that purpoſe, came thither under arms, being about 6000. It was a very ancient cuſtom for the army, in war-time, to take cognizance of capital crimes; and, in times of peace, for the people to do ſo; ſo that the prince had no power on theſe occaſions, unleſs a ſanction were given to it by the conſent of one of theſe bodies; and the king was forced to have recourſe to perſuaſion*, before he employed his authority.

Firſt, the body of Dymnus was brought out; very few then preſent knowing either what he had done, or how he came by his death. Afterwards the king came into the aſſembly; an air of ſorrow appearing in his countenance, as well as in his whole court, every one waiting with impatience the iſſue of this gloomy ſcene. Alexander continued a long time with his eyes caſt on the ground; but at laſt, having recovered his ſpirits, he made the following ſpeech: "I narrowly eſcaped, O ſoldiers, being "torn from you, by the treachery of a ſmall number of wretches; "but by the providence and mercy of the gods, I now again "appear before you alive: and I proteſt to you, that nothing "encourages me more to proceed againſt the traitors, than the "ſight of this aſſembly, whoſe lives are much dearer to me than "my own; for I deſire to live for your ſakes only; and the "greateſt happineſs I ſhould find in living (not to ſay the only "one) would be the pleaſure I ſhall receive, in having it once in "my power to reward the ſervices of ſo many brave men, to "whom I owe all things." Here he was interrupted by the cries and groans of the ſoldiers, who all burſt into tears. "Alas! "how will you behave, when I ſhall name the perſons who form-"ed ſo execrable an attempt? I myſelf cannot think of it with-"out ſhuddering. They, on whom I have been moſt laviſh of "my kindneſſes; on whom I had beſtowed the greateſt marks "of friendſhip; in whom I had put my whole confidence, and "in whoſe breaſts I lodged my greateſt ſecrets—Parmenio and "Philotas." At theſe names, all the ſoldiers gazed one upon the other, not daring to believe their eyes or ears, nor any thing they ſaw or heard. Then Nicomachus, Metron, and Cebalinus, were ſent for, who made the ſeveral depoſitions of what they knew. But as not one of them charged Philotas with engaging in the plot, the whole aſſembly, being ſeized with a trouble and confuſion eaſier conceived than expreſſed, continued in a ſad and gloomy ſilence.

Philotas was then brought in, his hands tied behind him, and his head covered with a coarſe worn-out piece of cloth. How ſhocking a ſight was this! Loſt to himſelf, he did not dare to

* Nihil poteſtas regum valebat, niſi prius valuiſſet auctoritas. Q. Curt.

look

look up, or open his lips; but the tears ſtreaming from his eyes, he fainted away in the arms of the man who held him. As the ſtanders-by wiped off the tears in which his face was bathed, recovering his ſpirits and his voice by inſenſible degrees, he ſeemed deſirous of ſpeaking. The king then told him, that he ſhould be judged by the Macedonians, and withdrew. Philotas might have juſtified himſelf very eaſily; for not one of the witneſſes, and thoſe who had been put on the rack, had accuſed him of being an accomplice in the plot. Dymnus, who firſt formed it, had not named him to any of the conſpirators; and had Philotas been concerned in it, and the ringleader, as was pretended, Dymnus would certainly have named him, at the head of all the reſt, in order to engage them the more ſtrongly. Had Philotas been conſcious to himſelf of guilt in this particular, as he was ſenſible that Cebalinus, who knew the whole, ſought earneſtly to acquaint the king of it, is it any way probable, that he could have lain quiet two days together, without once endeavouring, either to diſpatch Cebalinus, or to put his dark deſign in execution? which he might very eaſily have done. Philotas ſet theſe proofs, and a great many more, in the ſtrongeſt light; and did not omit to mention the reaſons which had made him deſpiſe the information that had been given him, as groundleſs and imaginary. Then directing, on a ſudden, himſelf to Alexander, as if he had been preſent, "O king," ſays he, "whereſoever you may be (for it is thought Alexander heard all that paſſed from behind a curtain), "if I have committed a fault in not acquainting you with "what I heard, I confeſſed it to you, and you pardoned me. "You gave me your royal hand as a pledge of this; and you "did me the honour to admit me to your table. If you believed "me, I am innocent; if you pardoned me, I am cleared: I "refer all this to your own judgment. What new crime have I "committed ſince? I was in a deep ſleep when my enemies waked "me, and loaded me with chains. Is it natural for a man, who "is conſcious that he is guilty of the moſt horrid of all crimes, to "be thus eaſy and undiſturbed? The innocence of my own "conſcience, and the promiſe your majeſty made me, gave my "ſoul this calm. Do not let the envy of mine enemies prevail "over your clemency and juſtice."

The reſult of this aſſembly was, that Philotas ſhould be put on the rack. The perſons who preſided on that occaſion were his moſt inveterate enemies, and they made him ſuffer every kind of torture. Philotas, at firſt, diſcovered the utmoſt reſolution and ſtrength of mind; the torments he ſuffered not being able to force from him a ſingle word, nor even ſo much as a ſigh. But

at laſt, conquered by pain, he confeſſed himſelf to be guilty, and named ſeveral accomplices, and even accuſed his own father. The next day, the anſwers of Philotas were read in a full aſſembly, he himſelf being preſent. Upon the whole, he was unanimouſly ſenteneed to die; immediately after which he was ſtoned, according to the cuſtom of the Macedonians, with ſome other of the conſpirators.

They alſo judged at the ſame time, and put to death Lyneeſtes Alexander, who had been found guilty of conſpiring the death of the king, and kept three years in priſon.

The condemnation of Philotas brought on that of Parmenio: whether it were that Alexander really believed him guilty, or was afraid of the father, now he had put the ſon to death. Polydamus, one of the lords of the court, was appointed to ſee the execution performed. He had been one of Parmenio's moſt intimate friends, if we may give that name to courtiers, who affect only their own fortunes. This was the very reaſon of his being nominated, becauſe no one could ſuſpect that he was ſent with any ſuch orders againſt Parmenio. He therefore ſet out for Media, where that general commanded the army, and was intruſted with the king's treaſures, which amounted to 180,000 talents (about L.27,000,000 ſterling). Alexander had given him ſeveral letters for Cleander, the king's lieutenant in the province; and for the principal officers. Two were for Parmenio; one of them from Alexander, and the other ſealed with Philotas's ſeal, as if he had been alive, to prevent the father from harbouring the leaſt ſuſpicions. Polydamus was but 11 days on his journey, and alighted in the night time at Cleander's. After having taken all the precautions neceſſary, they went together, with a great number of attendants, to meet Parmenio, who at that time was walking in a park of his own. The moment Polydamus ſpied him, though at a great diſtance, he ran to embrace him with an air of the utmoſt joy; and, after compliments, intermixed with the ſtrongeſt indications of friendſhip, had paſſed on both ſides, he gave him Alexander's letter. In the opening it, he aſked him what the king was doing; to which Polydamus replied, that he would know by his majeſty's letter. Parmenio, after peruſing it, ſaid as follows: "The king is preparing to march againſt "the Arachoſii. How glorious a prince is this, who will not "ſuffer himſelf to take a moment's reſt! However, he ought "to be a little tender of himſelf, now he has acquired ſo much "glory." He afterwards opened the letter which was written in Philotas's name; and, by his countenance, ſeemed pleaſed with the contents of it. At that very inſtant Cleander thruſt a dagger into

into his side, then made another thrust in his throat; and the rest gave him several wounds, even after he was dead.

Thus this great man ended his life; a man illustrious both in peace and war; who had performed many glorious actions without the king, whereas the king had never atchieved any thing conspicuous, but in concert with Parmenio. He was a person of great abilities and execution, was very dear to the grandees, and much more so to the officers and soldiers, who reposed the highest confidence in him, and looked upon themselves as assured of victory when he was at their head, so firmly they relied on his capacity and good fortune. He was then 70 years of age; and had always served his sovereign with inviolable fidelity and zeal, for which he was very ill rewarded; his son and himself having been put to death merely on a slight suspicion, uninforced with any real proof, which nevertheless obliterated in a moment all the great services both had done their country.

* Alexander was sensible, that such cruel executions might alienate the affections of his troops, of which he had a proof, by the letters they sent into Macedonia, which were intercepted by his order; concluding therefore that it would be proper for him to separate, from the rest of the army, such soldiers as had most distinguished themselves by their murmurs and complaints, lest their seditious discourses should spread the same spirit of discontent, he formed a separate body of these, the command of which he gave to Leonidas; this kind of ignominy being the only punishment he inflicted on them. But they were so strongly affected with it, that they endeavoured to wipe out the disgrace it brought upon them, by a bravery, a fidelity, and an obedience, which they observed ever afterwards.

To prevent the ill consequences that might arise from this secret discontent, Alexander set out upon his march, and continued to pursue Bessus; on which occasion he exposed himself to great hardships and dangers. After having passed through Drangania, Arachosia, and the country of the Arimaspi, where all things submitted to his arms, he arrived at a mountain called Paropamisus, a part of Caucasus, where his army underwent inexpressible fatigues, through weariness, thirst, cold, and the snows, which killed a great number of his soldiers. Bessus laid waste all the country that lay between him and mount Caucasus, in order that the want of provisions and forage might deprive Alexander of an opportunity of pursuing him. He indeed suffered

* Arrian. l. iii. p. 143. 148. Q. Curt. l. vii. c. 3—5. Diod. l. xvii. p. 552. 554. A. M. 3675. Ant. J. C. 329.

very

very much, but nothing could check his vigour. After making his army repoſe for ſome time at Drapſaca, he advanced towards Aornos and Bactra, the two ſtrongeſt cities of Bactriana, and took them both. At Alexander's approach, about 7 or 8000 Bactrians, who till then had adhered very firmly to Beſſus, abandoned him to a man, and retired each to his reſpective home. Beſſus, at the head of the ſmall number of forces who continued faithful to him, paſſed the river Oxus, burned all the boats he himſelf made uſe of, to prevent Alexander from croſſing it, and withdrew to Nautacus, a city of Sogdiana, fully determined to raiſe a new army there. Alexander, however, did not give him time to do this; and not meeting with trees or timber ſufficient for the building of boats and rafts, or floats of timber, he ſupplied the want of theſe by diſtributing to his ſoldiers a great number of ſkins ſtuffed with ſtraw, and ſuch like dry and light materials; which laying under them in the water, they croſſed the river in this manner; thoſe who went over firſt, drawing up in battle-array, whilſt their commanders were coming after them. In this manner his whole army paſſed over in ſix days.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, Spitamenes, who was Beſſus's chief confident, formed a conſpiracy againſt him, in concert with two more of his principal officers. Having ſeized his perſon, they put him in chains, forced his diadem from his head, tore to pieces the royal robe of Darius he had put on, and ſet him on horſeback, in order to give him up to Alexander.

That prince arrived at a little city inhabited by the Branchidæ. Theſe were the deſcendants of a family who had dwelt in Miletus, and whom Xerxes, at his return from Greece, had formerly ſent into Upper Aſia, where he had ſettled them in a very flouriſhing condition, in return for their having delivered up to him the treaſure of the temple called Didymaon, with which they had been intruſted. Theſe received the king with the higheſt demonſtrations of joy, and ſurrendered both themſelves and their city to him. Alexander ſent for ſuch Meleſians as were in his army, who preſerved an hereditary hatred againſt the Branchidæ, becauſe of the treachery of their anceſtors. He then left them the choice either of revenging the injury they had formerly done them, or of pardoning them in conſideration of their common extraction. The Meleſians being ſo much divided in opinion, that they could not agree among themſelves, Alexander undertook the deciſion himſelf. Accordingly, the next day he commanded his phalanx to ſurround the city; and a ſignal being given, they were ordered to plunder that abode of traitors, and put every one of them to the ſword, which inhuman order was executed

executed with the ſame barbarity as it had been given. All the citizens, at the very time they were going to pay homage to Alexander, were murdered in the ſtreets and in their houſes; no manner of regard being had to their cries and tears, nor the leaſt diſtinction made of age or ſex. They even pulled up the very foundations of the walls, in order that not the leaſt traces of that city might remain. But of what crimes were theſe ill-fated citizens guilty? Were they reſponſible for thoſe their fathers had committed upwards of 150 years before? I do not know whether hiſtory furniſhes another example of ſo brutal and frantic a cruelty.

A little after Beſſus was brought to Alexander, not only bound, but ſtark naked. Spitamenes held him by a chain, which went round his neck; and it was difficult to ſay, whether that object was more agreeable to the barbarians or Macedonians. In preſenting him to the king, he ſaid theſe words: "I have, at laſt, "revenged both you and Darius, my kings and maſters. I bring "you a wretch who aſſaſſinated his ſovereign, and who is now "treated in the ſame manner as himſelf gave the firſt example of! "Alas! why cannot Darius himſelf ſee this ſpectacle!" Alexander, after having greatly applauded Spitamenes, turned about to Beſſus, and ſpoke thus: "Thou ſurely muſt have been in-"ſpired with the rage and fury of a tiger, otherwiſe thou wouldſt "not have dared to load a king, from whom thou hadſt received "ſo many inſtances of favour, with chains, and afterwards murder "him! Be gone from my ſight, thou monſter of cruelty and "perfidiouſneſs." The king ſaid no more; but ſending for Oxatres, Darius's brother, he gave Beſſus to him, in order that he might ſuffer all the ignominy he deſerved; ſuſpending however his execution, that he might be judged in the general aſſembly of the Perſians.

## SECTION XIII.

ALEXANDER BUILDS A CITY NEAR THE IAXARTHES.—DEFEATS THE SCYTHIANS.—TAKES THE CITY OF PETRA.

ALEXANDER*, inſatiable of victory and conqueſts, ſtill marched forward in ſearch of new nations whom he might ſubdue. After recruiting his cavalry, which had ſuffered very much by their long and dangerous marches, he advanced to the † Iaxarthes.

* Arrian. l. iii. p. 148, 149. et l. iv. p. 150—160. Quint. Curt. l. vii. c. 6—11.

† Quintus Curtius and Arrian call it the Tanais, but they are miſtaken. The Tanais lies much more weſtward, and empties itſelf, not in the Caſpian Sea, but in the Pontus Euxinus, and is now called the Don.

Not

Not far from this river, the barbarians ruſhed ſuddenly from their mountains, came and attacked Alexander's forces, and having carried off a great number of priſoners, they retired to their lurking holes, in which were 20,000, who fought with bows and ſlings. The king went and beſieged them in perſon; and being one of the foremoſt in the attack, he was ſhot with an arrow in the bone of his leg, and the iron point ſtuck in the wound. The Macedonians, who were greatly alarmed and afflicted, carried him off immediately, yet not ſo ſecretly but the barbarians knew of it; for they ſaw, from the top of the mountain, every thing that was doing below. The next day they ſent ambaſſadors to the king, who ordered them to be immediately brought in, when taking off the bandage which covered his wound, he ſhowed them his leg, but did not tell them how much he had been hurt. Theſe aſſured him, that as ſoon as they heard of his being wounded, they were as much afflicted as the Macedonians could poſſibly be; and that had it been poſſible for them to find the perſon who had ſhot that arrow, they would have delivered him up to Alexander; that none but impious wretches would wage war againſt the gods: in a word, that being vanquiſhed by his unparalleled bravery, they ſurrendered themſelves to him, with the nations who followed them. The king, having engaged his faith to them, and taken back his priſoners, accepted of their homage.

After this he ſet out upon his march, and getting into a litter, a great diſpute aroſe between the horſe and foot who ſhould carry it, each of thoſe bodies pretending that this honour belonged to them only: and there was no other way of reconciling them, but by giving orders that they ſhould carry it in their turns.

From hence he got, the fourth day, to Maracanda, a very conſiderable city, and capital of Sogdiana, which he took; and after leaving a conſiderable garriſon there, he burned and laid waſte all the plains.

There came an embaſſy to him from the * Abian Scythians, who from the death of Cyrus had lived free and independent: theſe ſubmitted to Alexander. They were conſidered as the moſt equitable of all the barbarians; never making war but to defend themſelves; and the liberty eſtabliſhed among them, and which they no ways abuſed, removed all diſtinction, and equalled the meaneſt among them with the greateſt. A love of poverty and juſtice was their peculiar characteriſtic, and enabled them to live happy together without wanting either kings or laws. Alex-

* Abii Scythæ.

ander

ander received them kindly, and ſent one of his chief courtiers to take a view of their country, and even of the Scythians who inhabit beyond the Cimmerian Boſphorus.

He had marked out a ſpot of ground proper for building a city on the river Iaxarthes, in order to curb the nations he had already conquered, and thoſe he intended to ſubdue. But this deſign was retarded by the rebellion of the Sogdians, which was ſoon after followed by that of the Bactrians. Alexander diſpatched Spitamenes, who had delivered up Beſſus into his hands, believing him a very fit perſon to bring them back to their allegiance; but he himſelf had been chiefly inſtrumental in this inſurrection. The king, greatly ſurpriſed at this treachery, was determined to take vengeance of him in the moſt ſignal manner. He then marched to Cyropolis, and beſieged it. This was the laſt city of the Perſian empire, and had been built by Cyrus, after whoſe name it was called. At the ſame time he ſent Craterus, with two more of his general officers, to beſiege the city of the Memaceni, to whom 50 troopers were ſent, to deſire them to ſue for Alexander's clemency. Theſe met with a very kind reception at firſt, but in the night time were all cut to pieces. Alexander had reſolved to ſpare Cyropolis, purely for the ſake of Cyrus; for, of all the monarchs who had reigned over theſe nations, there were none he admired more than this king and Semiramis, becauſe they had ſurpaſſed all the reſt in courage and glorious actions. He therefore offered very advantageous conditions to the beſieged, but they were ſo blindly obſtinate as to reject them, and that even with pride and inſolence; upon which he ſtormed their city, abandoning the plunder of it to his ſoldiers, and razed it to the very foundations. From hence he went to the other city which Craterus was beſieging. No place ever made a more vigorous defence; for Alexander loſt his beſt ſoldiers before it, and was himſelf expoſed to very great danger; a ſtone ſtriking him with ſo much violence on the head, that it deprived him of his ſenſes. The whole army indeed thought him dead, which threw them into tears: But this prince, whom no danger or diſappointment could depreſs, puſhed on the ſiege with greater vigour than before, the inſtant he recovered, without ſtaying till his wound was healed, anger adding freſh fuel to his natural ardour. Having therefore cauſed the wall to be ſapped, he made a large breach in it, and entered the city, which he burned to the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword. Several other cities met with the ſame fate. This was a third rebellion of the Sogdians, who would not be quiet, though Alexander had pardoned them twice before. They loſt above 120,000 men in theſe different ſieges.

The

The king afterwards ſent Menedemus with 3000 foot and 800 horſe to Maracanda, whence Spitamenes had drove the Macedonian garriſon, and ſhut himſelf up there.

With regard to himſelf, he returned back and encamped on the Iaxarthes, where he ſurrounded with walls the whole ſpot of ground which his army had covered, and built a city on it, containing 60 furlongs in circumference*, which he alſo called Alexandria; having before built ſeveral of that name. He cauſed the workmen to make ſuch diſpatch, that in leſs than twenty days the ramparts were raiſed, and the houſes built; and indeed there was a great emulation among the ſoldiers, who ſhould get his work done ſooneſt, every one of them having had his portion allotted him: And, to people his new city, he ranſomed all the priſoners he could meet with, ſettled ſeveral Macedonians there who were worn out in the ſervice, and permitted many natives of the country, at their own requeſt, to inhabit it.

But the king of thoſe Scythians who live on the other ſide of the Iaxarthes, ſeeing that this city, built on the river, was a kind of yoke to them, they ſent a great body of ſoldiers to demoliſh it, and to drive the Macedonians to a great diſtance. Alexander, who had no deſign of attacking the Scythians, finding them make ſeveral incurſions, even in his ſight, in a very inſolent manner, was very much perplexed; eſpecially when advice was brought him at the ſame time, that the body of troops he had ordered to Maracanda, had been all, a very few excepted, cut to pieces. Such a number of obſtacles would have diſcouraged any one but Alexander; for the Sogdians had taken up arms, and the Bactrians alſo; his army was haraſſed by the Scythians; he himſelf was brought ſo low, that he was not able to ſtand upright, to mount on horſeback, to ſpeak to his forces, or give a ſingle order. To increaſe his affliction, he found his army no ways inclined to attempt the paſſage of the river in ſight of the enemy, who were drawn up in battle-array. The king continued in the utmoſt perplexity all night long; however, his courage ſurmounted all things. Being told, that the auſpices were not propitious, he forced the ſoothſayers to ſubſtitute favourable ones in their ſtead. The day beginning to break, he put on his coat of mail, and ſhowed himſelf to the ſoldiers, who had not ſeen him ſince the laſt wound he had received. Theſe held their king in ſuch high veneration, that only his preſence immediately removed all their fears, ſo that they ſhed tears of joy, and went unanimouſly and paid him their reſpects; entreating him to lead them

* Three leagues.

againſt

againſt the enemy, againſt whom they before had refuſed to march. They worked ſo hard at the rafts or floats, that in three days time they had made 12,000; and alſo prepared a great number of ſkins for that purpoſe.

As every thing was ready for the march, ſeveral Scythian ambaſſadors arrived, to the number of 20, according to the cuſtom of their country, who all rode through the camp, deſiring to ſpeak with the king. Alexander having ſent for them into his tent, deſired them to ſit down. They gazed attentively upon him a long time, without ſpeaking a ſingle word, being very probably ſurpriſed (as they formed a judgment of men from their air and ſtature) to find that his did not anſwer the high idea they entertained of him from his fame. The eldeſt of the ambaſſadors made this ſpeech, which, as Quintus Curtius relates it, is pretty long; however, as it is very curious, I ſhall preſent my readers with the greateſt part of it.

"Had the gods given thee a body proportionable to thy ambi-
"tion, the whole univerſe would have been too little for thee.
"With one hand thou wouldſt touch the eaſt, and with the
"other the weſt; and not ſatisfied with this, thou wouldeſt fol-
"low the ſun, and know where he hides himſelf. Such as thou
"art, thou yet aſpireſt after what it will be impoſſible for thee to
"attain. Thou croſſeſt over from Europe into Aſia; and when
"thou ſhalt have ſubdued all the race of men, thou then wilt
"make war againſt rivers, foreſts, and wild beaſts. Doſt thou
"not know, that tall trees are many years a-growing, but may be
"tore up in an hour's time; that the lion ſerves ſometimes for
"food to the ſmalleſt birds; that iron, though ſo very hard, is
"conſumed by ruſt; in a word, that there is nothing ſo ſtrong
"which may not be deſtroyed by the weakeſt thing?

"What have we to do with thee? We never ſet foot in thy
"country. May not thoſe who inhabit woods, be allowed to
"live without knowing who thou art, and whence thou cameſt?
"We will neither command over, nor ſubmit to any man. And
"that thou mayeſt be ſenſible what kind of people the Scythians
"are, know, that we received from heaven, as a rich preſent, a
"yoke of oxen, a ploughſhare, a dart, a javelin, and a cup.
"Theſe we make uſe of, both with our friends, and againſt our
"enemies. To our friends we give corn, which we procure by
"the labour of our oxen: with them we offer wine to the gods
"in our cup: And with regard to our enemies, we combat them
"at a diſtance with our arrows, and near at hand with our ja-
"velins. It was with theſe we formerly conquered the moſt war-

" like nations, ſubdued the moſt powerful kings, laid waſte all " Aſia, and opened ourſelves a way into the heart of Egypt*.

" But thou, who boaſteſt thy coming to extirpate robbers, thou " thyſelf are the greateſt robber upon earth. Thou haſt plun- " dered all nations thou overcameſt. Thou haſt poſſeſſed thyſelf " of Lydia, invaded Syria, Perſia, and Bactriana; thou art " forming a deſign to march as far as India, and thou now comeſt " hither to ſeize upon our herds of cattle. The great poſſeſ- " ſions thou haſt, only make thee covet more eagerly what thou " haſt not. Doſt thou not ſee how long the Bactrians have " checked thy progreſs? Whilſt thou art ſubduing theſe, the " Sogdians revolt, and victory is to thee only the occaſion of war.

" Paſs but the Iaxarthes, and thou wilt behold the great ex- " tent of our plains. It will be in vain for thee to purſue the Scy- " thians; and I defy thee ever to overtake them. Our poverty " will be more active than thy army, laden with the ſpoils of ſo " many nations; and, when thou ſhalt fancy us at a great diſtance, " thou wilt ſee us ruſh ſuddenly on thy camp; for we purſue, " and fly from our enemies, with equal ſpeed. I am informed " that the Greeks ſpeak jeſtingly of the Scythian ſolitudes, and " that they are even become a proverb: But we are fonder of " our deſerts than of thy great cities and fruitful plains. Let me " obſerve to thee, that fortune is ſlippery; hold her faſt therefore, " for fear ſhe ſhould eſcape thee. Put a curb to thy felicity, if " thou deſireſt to continue in poſſeſſion of it.

" If thou art a god, thou oughteſt to do good to mortals, and " not deprive them of their poſſeſſions: If thou art a mere man, " reflect always on what thou art. They whom thou ſhalt not " moleſt will be thy true friends; the ſtrongeſt friendſhips being " contracted between equals; and they are eſteemed equals, who " have not tried their ſtrength againſt each other: But do not " imagine, that thoſe whom thou conquereſt can love thee; for " there is no ſuch thing as friendſhip between a maſter and his " ſlave, and a forced peace is ſoon followed by a war.

" To conclude, † do not fancy that the Scythians will take an

* This is to be underſtood of the famous irruption of the Scythians, who advanced as far as Egypt, and poſſeſſed themſelves of Upper Aſia, for 28 years. See the ſecond volume of this work, in the hiſtory of the Aſſyrians. I have not followed Q. Curtius literally in this place, his ſenſe being pretty much embarraſſed.

† Jurando gratiam Scythas fancire ne credideris: colendo fidem jurant Græcorum iſta cautio eſt, qui acta conſignant, et deos invocant: nos religionem in ipſa fide novimus. Qui non reverentur homines, fallunt deos Q. Curt.

" oath

" oath in their concluding an alliance. The only oath among " them, is to keep their word without ſwearing. Such cautions " as theſe do indeed become Greeks, who ſign their treaties, and " call upon the gods to witneſs them; but, with regard to us, " our religion conſiſts in being ſincere, and in keeping the pro- " miſes we have made. That man who is not aſhamed to break " his word with men, is not aſhamed of deceiving the gods; and " of what uſe could friends be to thee whom thou couldeſt not " truſt? Conſider that we will guard both Europe and Aſia for " thee. We extend as far as Thrace, and we are told that this " country is contiguous to Macedonia. The river Iaxarthes " only divides us from Bactriana. Thus we are thy neighbours " on both ſides. Conſider, therefore, whether thou wilt have " us for friends, or enemies."

The Barbarian ſpoke thus: To whom the king made a very ſhort anſwer; "That he would take advantage both of his " own good fortune, and of their counſel; of his good for- " tune, by ſtill continuing to rely upon it; and of their coun- " ſel, by not attempting any thing raſhly." Having diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors, his army embarked on the rafts, which by this time were got ready. In the front, he placed ſuch as carried bucklers, and made them kneel down, the better to ſecure themſelves from the arrows of the enemy. Behind theſe were thoſe who worked the machines for diſcharging arrows and ſtones, covered on all ſides with ſoldiers armed cap-a-pee. The reſt who followed the engines, had their ſhields fixed together over their heads, in form of a tortoiſe, by which they defended the ſailors who wore corſlets. The like order and diſpoſition was obſerved in the other rafts or floats which carried the horſe.

The army found great difficulty in croſſing. Every thing conſpired to intimidate them; the clamour and confuſion, that are inſeparable from ſuch an enterpriſe; the rapidity of the ſtream, which carried away every thing with it; and the ſight of a numerous army drawn up in battle-array, on the oppoſite ſhore. However, the preſence of Alexander, who was ever the foremoſt in encountering dangers, made them neglect their own ſafety, and be concerned for his only. As ſoon as the Macedonians began to draw near the ſhore, they who carried ſhields roſe up together, when throwing their javelins with a ſtrong arm, every weapon did execution. When they perceived that the enemy, overpowered with that ſhower of ſhafts, began to retire, and draw their horſes back, they leaped on the ſhore with incredible ſwiftneſs, and, animating one another, began the charge with vigour. In this diſorder, the troopers, whoſe horſes were ready

bridled, ruſhed upon the enemy, and quite broke them. The king could not be heard, by reaſon of the faintneſs of his voice; but the example he ſet ſpoke for him.

And now nothing was heard in the Macedonian army but ſhouts of joy and victory, whilſt they continued to attack the barbarians with the utmoſt fury. The latter not being able to ſtand ſo ſevere an onſet, fled as faſt as their horſes could carry them; for theſe were the cavalry only. Though the king was very weak, he nevertheleſs purſued them briſkly a long way, till being at laſt quite ſpent, he was obliged to ſtop. After commanding his troops to purſue them as long as they could ſee, he withdrew to the camp in order to repoſe himſelf, and to wait the return of his forces. The Macedonians had already gone beyond the boundaries or limits of Bacchus, which were marked out by great ſtones ranged pretty cloſe one to the other, and by great trees, the trunks of which were covered with ivy. However, the heat of the purſuit carried them ſtill farther, and they did not return back into the camp, till after midnight; having killed a great number of the enemy, and taken many more priſoners, with 1800 horſes, all which they drove before them. On Alexander's ſide there were but 60 troopers ſlain, and about 100 foot, with 1000 wounded. Alexander ſent back to the Scythians all their priſoners without ranſom, to ſhow, that not animoſity, but a thirſt of glory, had prompted him to make war againſt ſo valiant a nation.

The report of this victory, and much more the clemency with which the king treated the vanquiſhed, greatly increaſed his reputation. The Scythians had always been conſidered as invincible; but after their defeat, it was owned, that every nation in the world ought to yield to the Macedonians. The Sacæ, who were a powerful nation, ſent an embaſſy to Alexander, by which they ſubmitted themſelves to him, and requeſted his friendſhip. The Scythians themſelves made an apology by their ambaſſadors; throwing the whole blame of what had happened on ſome few people, and declaring that they were ready to obey all the commands of the victorious prince.

Alexander, being ſo happily freed from the care and trouble of this important war, bent his whole thoughts on Maracanda, in which the traitor Spitamenes had fortified himſelf. At the firſt news of Alexander's approach, he had fled away, and withdrawn into Bactriana. The king purſued him thither, but deſpairing to come up with him, he returned back and ſacked Sogdiana, which is watered by the river Polytimetus.

Among the Sogdians that were taken priſoners, there were thirty

thirty young men, who were well ſhaped and very comely, and the greateſt lords of the country. Theſe being told, that they were led to execution by Alexander's command, began to ſing ſongs of joy, to leap and dance, diſcovering all the indications of an immoderate joy. The king, ſurpriſed to ſee them go to death with ſo much gaiety, had them brought before him; when he aſked them, how they came to break into ſuch tranſports of joy, when they ſaw death before their eyes? They anſwered, that they ſhould have been afflicted, had any other perſon but himſelf put them to death; but as they would be reſtored to their anceſtors by the command of ſo great a monarch, who had vanquiſhed all nations, they bleſſed this death; a death ſo glorious, that the braveſt men would wiſh to die the ſame. Alexander, admiring their magnanimity, aſked whether they would deſire to be pardoned, upon condition that they ſhould no longer be his enemies? They anſwered, he might be aſſured they had never been his enemies; but that, as he had attacked them, they had defended themſelves; and that, had they been applied to in a gentle manner, and not attacked by force and violence, they would have vied with him in politeneſs and generoſity. The king aſked them farther, what pledge they would give him of their faith and ſincerity? "No other," anſwered they, "but the ſame life we "receive from your goodneſs, and which we ſhall always be ready "to give back, whenever you ſhall require it." And, indeed, they were as good as their word. Four of them, whom he took into his body-guard, endeavoured to rival the Macedonians in zeal and fidelity.

The king, after having left a ſmall number of forces in Sogdiana, marched to Bactriana, where, having aſſembled all his generals, he commanded Beſſus to be brought before them; when, after reproaching him for his treachery, and cauſing his noſe and ears to be cut off, he ſent him to Ecbatana, there to ſuffer whatever puniſhment Darius's mother ſhould think proper to inflict upon him. Plutarch has left us an account of his execution. Four trees were bent by main force, one towards the other; and to each of theſe trees one of the limbs of this traitor's body was faſtened. Afterwards, theſe trees being let return to their natural poſition, they flew back with ſo much violence, that each tore away the limb that was fixed to it, and ſo quartered him. The ſame puniſhment is at this day inflicted on perſons convicted of high-treaſon, who are tore to pieces by four horſes.

Alexander received at this time, both from Macedonia and Greece, a large number of recruits, amounting to upwards of 16,000 men. By this conſiderable reinforcement he was enabled

to ſubdue all thoſe who had rebelled; and to curb them for the future, he built ſeveral fortreſſes in Margiana.

* All things were now reſtored to a profound tranquillity. There remained but one ſtrong hold, called Petra Oxiana, or the rock of Oxus, which was defended by Arimazes, a native of Sogdiana, with 30,000 ſoldiers under his command, and ammunition and proviſions for two years. This rock, which was very high and craggy on all ſides, was acceſſible only by a ſingle path that was cut in it. The king, after viewing its works, was a long time in ſuſpence whether he ſhould beſiege it; but, as it was his character to aim at the marvellous in all things, and to attempt impoſſibilities, he reſolved to try if he could not overcome, on this occaſion, nature itſelf, which ſeemed to have fortified this rock in ſuch a manner as had rendered it abſolutely impregnable. However, before he formed the ſiege, he ſummoned thoſe barbarians, but in mild terms, to ſubmit to him. Arimazes received this offer in a very haughty manner; and, after uſing ſeveral inſulting expreſſions, aſked, "Whether Alexander, who was able to do all "things, could fly alſo; and whether nature had, on a ſudden, "given him wings?"

Alexander was highly exaſperated at this anſwer. He therefore gave orders for ſelecting, from among the mountaineers who were in his army, 300 of the moſt active and dexterous. Theſe being brought to him, he addreſſed them thus: "It was in your "company, brave young men, that I ſtormed ſuch places as were "thought impregnable; that I made my way over mountains "covered with eternal ſnows; croſſed rivers, and broke through "the paſſes of Cilicia. This rock, which you ſee, has but one "outlet, which alone is defended by the barbarians, who neglect "every other part. There is no watch or ſentinel, except on "that ſide which faces our camp. If you ſearch very narrowly, "you certainly will meet with ſome path that leads to the top "of the rock. Nothing has been made ſo inacceſſible by nature "as not to be ſurmounted by valour; and it was only by our "attempting, what no one before had hopes of effecting, that "we poſſeſſed ourſelves of Aſia. Get up to the ſummit, and "when you ſhall have made yourſelves maſters of it, ſet up a white "ſtandard there as a ſignal; and be aſſured, that I then will cer-"tainly diſengage you from the enemy, and draw them upon "myſelf, by making a diverſion." At the ſame time that the king gave out this order, he made them the moſt noble promiſes: but the pleaſing him was conſidered by them as the greateſt of all

* A. M. 3676. Ant. J. C. 328.

rewards.

rewards. Fired therefore with the nobleſt ardour, and fancying they had already reached the ſummit, they ſet out, after having provided themſelves with wedges to drive into the ſtones, cramp-irons, and thick ropes.

The king went round the mountain with them, and commanded them to begin their march at the ſecond watch of the night *, by that part which ſhould ſeem to them of eaſieſt acceſs; beſeeching the gods to guide their ſteps. They then took proviſions for two days: and being armed with ſwords and javelins only, they began to aſcend the mountain, walking ſome time on foot; afterwards, when it was neceſſary for them to climb, ſome forced their wedges into the ſtones which projected forwards, and by that means raiſed themſelves; others thruſt their cramp-irons into the ſtones that were frozen, to keep themſelves from falling in ſo ſlippery a way; in fine, others driving in their wedges with great ſtrength, made them ſerve as ſo many ſcaling ladders. They ſpent the whole day in this manner, hanging againſt the rock, and expoſed to numerous dangers and difficulties, being obliged to ſtruggle at the ſame time with ſnow, cold, and wind. Nevertheleſs, the hardeſt taſk was yet to come; and the farther they advanced, the higher the rock ſeemed to riſe. But that which terrified them moſt, was the ſad ſpectacle of ſome of their comrades falling down precipices, whoſe unhappy fate was a warning to them of what they themſelves might expect. Notwithſtanding this, they ſtill advanced forward, and exerted themſelves ſo vigorouſly, that, in ſpite of all theſe difficulties, they at laſt got to the top of the rock. They then were all inexpreſſibly weary, and many of them had even loſt the uſe of ſome of their limbs. Night and drowſineſs came upon them at the ſame time, ſo that, diſperſing themſelves in ſuch diſtant parts of the rock as were free from ſnows, they lay down in them and ſlept till day-break. At laſt waking from a deep ſleep, and looking on all ſides to diſcover the place where ſo many people could lie hid, they ſaw ſmoke below them, which ſhowed them the haunt of the enemy. They then put up the ſignal, as had been agreed; and their whole company drawing up, 32 were found wanting, who had loſt their lives in the aſcent.

In the mean time the king, equally fired with a deſire of ſtorming the fortreſs, and ſtruck with the viſible danger to which thoſe men were expoſed, continued on foot the whole day, gazing upon the rock, and he himſelf did not retire to reſt till dark night. The next morning, by peep of day, he was the firſt who

* About ten o'clock.

perceived

perceived the ſignal. Nevertheleſs, he was ſtill in doubt whether he might truſt his eyes, becauſe of the falſe ſplendor which breaks out at day break; but the light increaſing, he was ſure of what he ſaw. Sending therefore for Cophes, who before, by his command, had ſounded the barbarians, he diſpatched him a ſecond time, with an exhortation to think better of the matter; and in caſe they ſhould ſtill depend upon the ſtrength of the place, he then was ordered to ſhow them the band of men behind their backs, who were got to the ſummit of the rock. Cophes employed all the arguments poſſible, to engage Arimazes to capitulate; repreſenting to him, that he would gain the king's favour, in caſe he did not interrupt the great deſigns he meditated, by obliging him to make ſome ſtay before that rock. Arimazes ſent a haughtier and more inſolent anſwer than before, and commanded him to retire. Then Cophes, taking him by the hand, deſired he would come out of the cave with him, which the barbarian doing, he ſhowed him the Macedonians poſted over his head, and ſaid, in an inſulting tone of voice, "You ſee that "Alexander's ſoldiers have wings." In the mean time, the trumpets were heard to ſound, in every part of the Macedonian camp, and the whole army ſhouted aloud, and cried, "Victory!" Theſe things, though of little conſequence in themſelves, did nevertheleſs, as often happens, throw the barbarians into ſo great a conſternation, that without once reflecting how few were got to the ſummit, they thought themſelves loſt. Upon this Cophes was recalled, and 30 of the chiefs among the barbarians were ſent back with him, who agreed to ſurrender up the place, upon condition that their lives might be ſpared. The king, notwithſtanding the ſtrong oppoſition he might meet with, was however ſo exaſperated at the haughtineſs of Arimazes, that he refuſed to grant them any terms of capitulation. A blind and raſh confidence in his own good fortune, which had never failed him, made him inſenſible to every danger. Arimazes, on the other ſide, blinded by fear, and concluding himſelf abſolutely loſt, came down, with his relations and the principal nobility of the country, into Alexander's camp. But this prince, who was not maſter of his anger, forgetting what the faith of treaty and humanity required on this occaſion, cauſed them all to be ſcourged with rods, and afterwards to be fixed to croſſes, at the foot of the ſame rock. The multitudes of people who ſurrendered, with all the booty, were given to the inhabitants of the cities which had been newly founded in thoſe parts; and Artabazus was left governor of the rock and the whole province round it.

SECT.

## SECTION XIV.

### DEATH OF CLITUS.—EXPEDITIONS OF ALEXANDER.—HE COMMANDS WORSHIP TO BE PAID TO HIMSELF.

ALEXANDER*, having ſubdued the Maſſagetæ and the Dahæ, entered Bazaria. In this province are a great number of large parks ſtocked with deer. Here the king took the diverſion of hunting, in which he was expoſed to very great peril; for a lion of an enormous ſize advanced directly to him, but he killed him with a ſingle thruſt. Although Alexander came off victorious on this occaſion, yet the Macedonians, alarmed at the danger he had run, and the whole army in his perſon, gave orders, purſuant to the cuſtom of their country, that the king ſhould go no more a-hunting on foot, without being attended by ſome of his courtiers and officers. They were ſenſible, that a king is not born for his own ſake, but for that of his ſubjects; that he ought to be careful of his own perſon for their ſakes, and reſerve his courage for other dangers; and that the being famous for killing beaſts, a reputation unworthy of a great prince, ought not to be purchaſed ſo dear.

From thence he advanced to Maracanda, where he quelled ſome tumults which had broke out in that country. Artabazus requeſting to be diſcharged from the government of that province, by reaſon of his great age, he appointed Clitus his ſucceſſor. He was an old officer, who had fought under Philip, and ſignalized himſelf on many occaſions. At the battle of the Granicus, as Alexander was fighting bare-headed, and Roſaces had his arm raiſed, in order to ſtrike him behind, he covered the king with his ſhield, and cut off the barbarian's hand. Hellenice, his ſiſter, had nurſed Alexander; and he loved her with as much tenderneſs as if ſhe had been his own mother. As the king, from theſe ſeveral conſiderations, had a very great reſpect for Clitus, he inruſted him with the government of one of the moſt important provinces of his empire, and ordered him to ſet out the next day.

Before his departure, Clitus was invited in the evening to an entertainment, in which the king, † after drinking immoderately, began to celebrate his own exploits; and was ſo exceſſively laviſh

* Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 1—8. Arrian. l. iv. p. 161—171. Plut. in Alex. 693—696. Juſtin. l. xii. c. 6, 7.

† In quo Rex, cum multo incaluiſſet mero, immodicus æſtimator ſui, celebrare quæ geſſerat cœpit: gravis etiam eorum auribus, qui ſentiebant vera emorari. Q. Curt.

of

of self-commendation, that he even shocked those very persons who knew that he spoke truth. However, the oldest men in the company held their peace, till beginning to depreciate the warlike acts of Philip, he boasted, "That the famous victory of Chæro-"nea was won by his means; and that the glory of so immortal a "battle had been torn from him by the malice and jealousy of his "father. That in the insurrection * which broke out between "the Macedonians and mercenary Greeks, Philip, fainting away "after the wounds he had received in that tumult, had laid him-"self on the ground, and could not think of a better method to "save himself, than by lying along as dead; that on this occasion "he had covered him with his shield, and killed with his own "hands those who attempted to fall upon him; but that his father "could never prevail upon himself to confess this circumstance in-"genuously, being vexed that he owed his life to his own son. "That in the war against the Illyrians, he was the only person "who had done any thing, Philip having had no manner of share "in it; and hearing of the defeat of the enemy, no otherwise "than by the letters he sent him. That the persons worthy of "praise, were not such as initiated themselves in the † mysteries "of the Samothracians, when they ought to have laid waste all "Asia with fire and sword, but those who had atchieved such "mighty exploits as surpassed all belief."

These and the like discourses were very pleasing to the young men, but were very shocking to those advanced in years; especially for Philip's sake, under whom they had fought many years. Clitus, who also was intoxicated, turning about to those who sat below him at table, quoted to them a passage from ‡ Euripides, but in such a manner that the king could only hear his voice, and not the words distinctly. The sense of this passage was, "That the "Greeks had done very wrong in ordaining, that in the inscrip-"tions engraved on trophies, the names of kings only should be "mentioned; because §, by these means, brave men were robbed "of the glory they had purchased with their blood." The king suspecting Clitus had let drop some disobliging expressions, asked those who sat nearest him, what he had said? As no one answered, Clitus, raising his voice by degrees, began to relate the actions

* This sedition is not mentioned in any other place.

† It was usual for generals, before they set out on their expeditions, to cause themselves to be initiated in these mysteries, and offer sacrifices to the gods who presided in them. Possibly Philip, by observing this ceremony, had delayed some enterprise.

‡ In his Andromache.

§ Alieno enim sanguine partam gloriam intercipi. Q. Curt.

Philip

Philip, and his wars in Greece, preferring them to whatever was doing at that time; which created a great diſpute between the young and the old men. Though the king was prodigiouſly vexed in his mind, he nevertheleſs ſtifled his reſentment, and ſeemed to liſten very patiently to all Clitus ſpoke to his prejudice. It is probable he would have quite ſuppreſſed his paſſion, had Clitus ſtopped there; but the latter growing more and more inſolent, as if determined to exaſperate and inſult the king, went ſuch lengths, as to defend Parmenio publicly; and to aſſert, that the deſtroying of Thebes was but trifling in compariſon of the victory which Philip had gained over the Athenians; and that the old Macedonians, though ſometimes unſucceſsful, were greatly ſuperior to thoſe who were ſo raſh as to deſpiſe them.

Alexander telling him, that in giving cowardice the name of ill ſucceſs, he was pleading his own cauſe, Clitus riſes up, with his eyes ſparkling with wine and anger, "It is nevertheleſs this "hand," ſaid he to him, extending it at the ſame time, "that ſaved "your life at the battle of the Granicus. It is the blood and "wounds of thoſe very Macedonians, who are accuſed of cowar-"dice, that raiſed you to this grandeur. But the tragical end of "Parmenio ſhows, what reward they and myſelf may expect for "all our ſervices." This laſt reproach ſtung Alexander: However, he ſtill reſtrained his paſſion, and only commanded him to leave the table. "He is in the right," ſays Clitus, as he roſe up, "not to bear freeborn men at his table, who can only tell him "truth. He will do well to paſs his life among Barbarians and "ſlaves, who will be proud to pay their adoration to his Perſian "girdle and his white robe." But now the king, no longer able to ſuppreſs his rage, ſnatched a javelin from one of the guards, and would have killed Clitus on the ſpot, had not the courtiers withheld his arm, and Clitus been forced, but with great difficulty, out of the hall. However, he returned into it that moment by another door, ſinging, with an air of inſolence, verſes reflecting highly on the prince, who ſeeing the general near him, ſtruck him with his javelin, and laid him dead at his feet, crying out at the ſame time, "Go now to Philip, to Parmenio, and to Attalus."

The king's anger being in a manner extinguiſhed on a ſudden in the blood of Clitus, his crime diſplayed itſelf to him in its blackeſt and moſt dreadful light. He had murdered a man, who indeed had abuſed his patience, but then he had always ſerved him with the utmoſt zeal and fidelity, and ſaved his life, though he was aſhamed to own it. He had that inſtant performed the vile office of an executioner, in puniſhing, by an horrid murder, the uttering of ſome indiſcreet words, which might be imputed to the fumes

fumes of wine. With what face could he appear before the ſiſter of Clitus, his nurſe, and offer her a hand imbrued in her brother's blood? Upon this he threw himſelf upon his friend's body, forced out the javelin, and would have diſpatched himſelf with it, had not the guards, who ruſhed in upon him, laid hold of his hands, and forcibly carried him into his own apartment.

He paſſed that night and the next day in tears. After that groans and lamentations had quite waſted his ſpirits, he continued ſpeechleſs, ſtretched on the ground, and only venting deep ſighs. But his friends, fearing his ſilence would be fatal, forced themſelves into his chamber. The king took very little notice of the words that were employed to comfort him; but Ariſtander the ſoothſayer, putting him in mind of a dream, in which he had imagined he ſaw Clitus, clothed in a black robe, and ſeated at a table; and declaring, that all which had then happened was appointed by the eternal decree of fate, Alexander appeared a little eaſier in his mind. He next was addreſſed by two philoſophers, Calliſthenes and Anaxarchus. The former went up to him with an air of humanity and tenderneſs, and endeavoured to ſuppreſs his grief, by agreeably inſinuating himſelf, and endeavoured to make him recall his reaſon, by reflections of a ſolid nature, drawn from the very eſſence of philoſophy, and by carefully ſhunning all ſuch expreſſions as might renew his affliction, and fret a wound, which, as it was ſtill bleeding, required to be touched with the gentleſt hand. But Anaxarchus did not obſerve this decorum; for the moment he entered, he cried aloud, "How! is this Alexander, on whom the eyes of the whole world are fixed? Behold "him here extended on the floor, ſhedding floods of tears, like "the meaneſt ſlave! Does not he know, that he himſelf is a "ſupreme law to his ſubjects; that he conquered merely to raiſe "himſelf to the exalted dignity of lord and ſovereign, and not to "ſubject himſelf to a vain opinion? The king was determined to ſtarve himſelf; ſo that it was with the utmoſt difficulty that his friends prevailed with him to take a little ſuſtenance. The Macedonians declared by a decree, that Clitus had been very juſtly killed; to which decree Anaxarchus the philoſopher had given occaſion, by aſſerting, that the will of princes is the ſupreme law of the ſtate. Alas! how weak are all ſuch reflections againſt the cries of a juſtly-alarmed conſcience, which can never be quieted, either by flattery or falſe arguments.

It muſt be confeſſed, that Clitus had committed an inexcuſable fault. It was indeed his duty, not to join in diſcourſes calculated to ſully the glory of Philip his benefactor; but to ſhow his diſlike to what was ſaid, by a mournful but modeſt ſilence. He poſſibly

poſſibly might have been allowed to ſpeak in favour of the late monarch, provided he had expreſſed himſelf with prudence and moderation. Had ſuch a reſervedneſs been unſucceſsful, he might juſtly have merited pity, and would not have been criminal. But by breaking into injurious and ſhocking reproaches, he quite forgot the veneration due to the ſacred character of kings; with regard to whom, how unjuſtly ſoever they may act, not only every contemptuous and inſulting expreſſion is forbid, but every diſreſpectful and unguarded word; they being the repreſentatives of God himſelf.

It muſt nevertheleſs be confeſſed, that the circumſtance of the banquet extenuates very much, or throws, in ſome meaſure, a veil over Clitus's fault. When a prince invites a ſubject to a feaſt; when he makes him the companion of debauch, and in perſon excites him to quaff immoderately; a king, on ſuch an occaſion, ſeems to forget his dignity, and to permit his ſubjects to forget it alſo; he gives a ſanction, as it were, to the liberties, familiarities, and ſudden flights which wine commonly inſpires: and ſhould he be diſpleaſed with a ſubject for equalling himſelf with him, he ought to blame himſelf for having firſt raiſed a ſubject ſo high. A fault committed under theſe circumſtances is always a fault; but then it ought never to be expiated with the blood of the offender.

A certain author compares* anger, when united to power, with thunder; and, indeed, what havoc does it not then make? But how dreadful muſt it be, when joined with drunkenneſs! We ſee this in Alexander. How unhappy was that prince, not to have endeavoured to ſubdue thoſe two vices in his youth, and † to have been confirmed in them from the example of one of his tutors! for it is aſſerted, that both were the conſequences of his education. But what can be meaner, or more unworthy a king, than drinking to exceſs? What can be more fatal or bloody, than the tranſports of anger? ‡Alexander, who had overcome ſo many nations, was himſelf conquered by thoſe two vices, which threw a ſhade over the glory of his brighteſt actions. The reaſon of this, ſays Seneca, is, he endeavoured more to vanquiſh others,

* Fulmen eſt, ubi cum poteſtate habitat iracundia. Publ. Syr.

† Nec minus error eorum nocet moribus, ſi quidem Leonides Alexandri pædagogus, ut a Babylonio Diogene traditur, quibuſdam eum vitiis imbuit, quæ robuſtum quoque et jam maximum regem ab illa inſtitutione puerili ſunt profecuta. Quintil. l. i. c. 1.

‡ Victor tot regum atque populorum, iræ ſuccubuit. Id enim egerat, ut omnia potius haberet in poteſtate, quam affectus—Imperare ſibi, maximum imperium eſt. Senec. epiſt. cxiii.

than to ſubdue himſelf; not knowing, that to triumph over our paſſions is, of all conqueſts, the moſt glorious.

Alexander, after continuing ten days in Maracanda, in order to recover his ſpirits, marched into Xenippa, a province bordering upon Scythia; whither ſome rebels were retired, all of whom he ſubjected, and gave them a free pardon. From thence he ſet forward with his army towards the rock Chorienſis, of which Syſimethres was governor. All acceſs to it ſeemed abſolutely impracticable; nevertheleſs, he at laſt got near it, after having paſſed through numberleſs difficulties; and, by the mediation of Oxartes, a prince of that country who had adhered to Alexander, he prevailed with Syſimethres to ſurrender. The king after this left him the government of that place, and promiſed him very great advantages in caſe he continued faithful.

Alexander had reſolved to attack the Dahæ, becauſe Spitamenes, the chief of the rebels, was among them; but the felicity which always attended him, ſpared him that labour. The wife of this Barbarian, being no longer able to bear the vagabond wretched life her huſband forced her to lead, and having often entreated him, but in vain, to ſurrender himſelf to the conqueror, ſhe herſelf murdered him in the night; and, quite covered with his blood, went and carried his head to the king. Alexander was ſhocked at ſo horrid a ſpectacle, and ordered her to be drove ignominiouſly from the camp.

Alexander, after having drawn his army out of the garriſons, where they had wintered three months, marched towards a country called Gabaza. In his way he met with a dreadful ſtorm. Flaſhes of lightning coming thick one upon another, dazzled the eyes of the ſoldiers, and entirely diſcouraged them. It thundered almoſt inceſſantly, and the thunder-bolts fell every moment at the feet of the ſoldiers; ſo that they did not dare either to ſtand ſtill or advance forward. On a ſudden, a violent ſhower of rain, mixed with hail, came pouring down like a flood; and ſo extreme was the cold in this country, that it froze the rain as it fell. The ſufferings of the army on this occaſion were inſupportable. The king, who was the only perſon invincible to theſe calamities, rode up and down among the ſoldiers; comforted and animated them; and pointing at ſmoke which iſſued from ſome diſtant huts, entreated them to march to them with all the ſpeed poſſible. Having given orders for the felling of a great number of trees, and laying them in heaps up and down, he had fires made in different places, and by this means ſaved the army, but upwards of 1000 men loſt their lives. The king made up to the officers and ſoldiers the ſeveral loſſes they had ſuſtained during this fatal ſtorm.

When

When they were recovered ſo well as to be able to march, he went into the country of the Sacæ, which he ſoon overrun and laid waſte. Soon after this, Oxartes received him in his palace, and invited him to a ſumptuous banquet, in which he diſplayed all the magnificence of the Barbarians. He had a daughter, called Roxana, a young lady whoſe exquiſite beauty was heightened by all the charms of wit and good ſenſe. Alexander found her charms irreſiſtible, and made her his wife; covering his paſſion with the ſpecious pretence of uniting the two nations in ſuch bands as ſhould improve their mutual harmony, by blending their intereſts, and throwing down all diſtinctions between the conquerors and the conquered. This marriage diſpleaſed the Macedonians very much, and exaſperated his chief courtiers, to ſee him make one of his ſlaves his father-in-law: but as, * after his murdering Clitus, no one dared to ſpeak to him with freedom, they applauded what he did with their eyes and countenances, which can adapt themſelves wonderfully to flattery and ſervile complacency.

In fine, having reſolved to march into India, and embark from thence on the ocean, he commanded (in order that nothing might be left behind to check his deſigns) that 30,000 young men ſhould be brought him, all completely armed, out of the ſeveral provinces, to ſerve him at the ſame time as hoſtages and ſoldiers. In the mean while, he ſent Craterus againſt ſome of the rebels, whom he eaſily defeated. Polyſperchon likewiſe ſubdued a country called Bubacene; ſo that all things being in perfect tranquillity, Alexander bent his whole thoughts to the carrying on the war with India. This country was conſidered as the richeſt in the world, not only in gold, but in pearls and precious ſtones, with which the inhabitants adorned themſelves, but with more luxury than gracefulneſs. It was related, that the ſwords of the ſoldiers were of gold and ivory; and the king, now the greateſt monarch in the world, being determined not to yield to any perſon whatſoever, in any circumſtance, cauſed the ſwords of his ſoldiers to be ſet off with ſilver plates, put golden bridles to the horſes, had the coats of mail heightened with gold and ſilver, and prepared to march for this enterpriſe, at the head of 120,000 men, all equipped with the magnificence above deſcribed.

All things being ready for their ſetting out, he thought proper to reveal the deſign he had ſo long meditated, *viz.* to have divine honours paid him, and was ſolely intent on the means for putting that deſign in execution. He was reſolved, not only to be called,

* Sed, poſt Clyti cædem, libertate ſublata, vultu, qui maxime ſervit, aſſentiebantur. Q. Curt.

but to be believed, the ſon of Jupiter; as if it had been poſſible for him to command as abſolutely over the mind as over the tongue, and that the Macedonians would condeſcend to fall proſtrate, and adore him after the Perſian manner.

To * ſooth and cheriſh theſe ridiculous pretenſions, there were not wanting flatterers, thoſe common peſts of courts, who are more dangerous to princes than the arms of their enemies. The Macedonians, indeed, would not ſtoop to this baſe adulation; all of them, to a man, refuſing to vary, in any manner, from the cuſtoms of their country. The whole evil was owing to ſome Greeks, whoſe depraved manners were a ſcandal to their profeſſion of teaching virtue and the ſciences. Theſe, though the mean refuſe of Greece, were nevertheleſs in greater credit with the king, than either the princes of his blood, or the generals of his army; it was ſuch creatures as theſe that placed him in the ſkies; and puriſied, wherever they came, that Hercules, Bacchus, Caſtor and Pollux, would reſign their ſeats to this new deity.

He therefore appointed a feſtival, and made an incredibly pompous banquet, to which he invited the greateſt lords of his court, both Macedonians and Greeks, and moſt of the higheſt quality among the Perſians. With theſe he ſat down at table for ſome time, after which he withdrew. Upon this Cleon, one of his flatterers, began to ſpeak, and expatiated very much on the praiſes of the king, as had before been agreed upon. He made a long detail of the high obligations they had to him, all which he obſerved, they might acknowledge and repay at a very eaſy expence, merely with two grains of incenſe, which they ſhould offer him as to a god, without the leaſt ſcruple, ſince they believed him ſuch. To this purpoſe he cited the example of the Perſians. He took notice, that Hercules himſelf, and Bacchus, were not ranked among the deities till after they had ſurmounted the envy of their contemporaries. That in caſe the reſt ſhould not care to pay this juſtice to Alexander's merit, he himſelf was reſolved to ſhow them the way, and to worſhip him if he ſhould come into the hall. But that all of them muſt do their duty, eſpecially thoſe that profeſſed wiſdom, who ought to ſerve to the reſt as an example of the veneration due to ſo great a monarch.

It appeared plainly that this ſpeech was directed to Calliſthenes. † He was related to Ariſtotle, who had preſented him to Alexander his pupil, that he might attend upon that monarch in the

* Non decerat talia concupiſcenti perniciosa adulatio, perpetuum malum regum, quorum opes ſæpius aſſentatio, quam hoſtis, evertit. Q. Curt.

† Diog. Laert. in Ariſtot. l. v. p. 303.

war

war of Perſia. He was conſidered, upon account of his wiſdom and gravity, as the fitteſt perſon to give him ſuch wholeſome counſel, as was moſt capable of preſerving him from thoſe exceſſes, into which his youth and fiery temper might hurry him: but he was accuſed of not poſſeſſing the gentle, inſinuating behaviour of courts; and of * not knowing a certain medium between groveling complacency and inflexible obſtinacy. Ariſtotle had attempted, but to no purpoſe, to ſoften the ſeverity of his temper; and foreſeeing the ill conſequences with which his diſagreeable liberty of ſpeaking his mind might be attended, he uſed often to repeat the following verſe of Homer † to him:

My ſon, thy freedom will abridge thy days.

And his prediction was but too true.

This philoſopher, ſeeing that every one, on this occaſion, continued in a deep ſilence, and that the eyes of the whole aſſembly were fixed on him, made a ſpeech, which appears to me juſt enough. However, it often happens, when a ſubject is bound in duty to oppoſe the inclinations of his ſovereign, that the moſt cautious and moſt reſpectful zeal is conſidered as inſolence and rebellion. "Had the king," ſaid he, "been preſent when thou "madeſt thy ſpeech, none among us would then have attempted "to anſwer thee, for he himſelf would have interrupted thee, "and not have ſuffered thee to prompt him to aſſume the cuſ- "toms of barbarians, in caſting an odium on his perſon and glory, "by ſo ſervile an adulation. But ſince he is abſent, I will anſwer "thee in his name. I conſider Alexander as worthy of all the "honours that can be paid to a mortal; but there is a difference "between the worſhip of the gods and that of men. The former "includes temples, altars, prayers, and ſacrifices; the latter is "confined to praiſes only, and awful reſpect. We ſalute the "latter, and look upon it as glorious to pay them ſubmiſſion, "obedience, and fidelity; but we adore the former; we inſtitute "feſtivals to their honour, and ſing hymns and ſpiritual ſongs to "their glory. The worſhip of the gods does itſelf vary accord- "ing to their rank; and the homage we pay to Caſtor and Pol- "lux, is not like that with which we adore Mercury and Jupiter. "We muſt not therefore confound all things, either by bringing "down the gods to the condition of mortals, or by raiſing "a mortal to the ſtate of a god. Alexander would be juſtly of-

* Inter abruptam contumaciam et deforme obſequium pergere iter ambitione ac periculis vacuum. Tacit. annal. l. iv. c. 20.

† Ὠκύμορος δὴ μοι τέκος ἔσσεαι ἠδ' ἀγορεύεις. Il. 18. v. 95.

" fended, ſhould we pay to another perſon the homage due to " his ſacred perſon only; ought we not to dread the indignation " of the gods as much, ſhould we beſtow upon mortals, the ho- " nours due to them alone? I am ſenſible that our monarch is " vaſtly ſuperior to the reſt; he is the greateſt of kings, and the " moſt glorious of all conquerors; but then he is a man, not a " god. To obtain this title, he muſt firſt be diveſted of his mor- " tal frame; but this is greatly our intereſt to wiſh may not hap- " pen but as late as poſſible. The Greeks did not worſhip " Hercules till after his death; and that not till the oracle had " expreſsly commanded it. The Perſians are cited as an example " for our imitation; but how long is it that the vanquiſhed have " given law to the victor? Can we forget that Alexander croſſed " the Helleſpont, not to ſubject Greece to Aſia, but Aſia to " Greece?"

The deep ſilence which all the company obſerved whilſt Calliſthenes ſpoke, was an indication, in ſome meaſure, of their thoughts. The king, who ſtood behind the tapeſtry all the time, heard whatever had paſſed. He thereupon ordered Cleon to be told, That without inſiſting any further, he would only require the Perſians to fall proſtrate, according to their uſual cuſtom; a little after which he came in, pretending he had been buſied in ſome affair of importance. Immediately the Perſians fell proſtrate to adore him. Polyſperchon, who ſtood near him, obſerving that one of them bowed ſo low that his chin touched the ground, bid him, in a rallying tone of voice, to " ſtrike harder." The king, offended at this joke, threw Polyſperchon into priſon, and broke up the aſſembly. However, he afterwards pardoned him, but Calliſthenes was not ſo fortunate.

To rid himſelf of him, he laid to his charge a crime of which he was no ways guilty. Hermolaus, one of the young officers who attended upon the king in all places, had, upon account of ſome private pique, formed a conſpiracy againſt him; but it was very happily diſcovered, the inſtant it was to be put in execution. The criminals were ſeized, put to the torture, and executed. Not one among them had accuſed Calliſthenes; but having been very intimate with Hermolaus, that alone was ſufficient. Accordingly he was thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and the moſt grievous torments were inflicted on him, in order to extort a confeſſion of guilt. But he inſiſted upon his innocence to the laſt, and expired in the midſt of his tortures.

Nothing has reflected ſo much diſhonour on Alexander's memory, as this unjuſt and cruel death of Calliſthenes. He truly merited the name of philoſopher, from the ſolidity of his underſtanding,

ſtanding, the extent of his knowledge, the auſterity of his life, the regularity of his conduct, and, above all, from the hatred he ſo evidently manifeſted for diſſimulation and flattery of every kind. He was not born for courts, the frequentors of which muſt have a ſupple, pliable, flexible turn of mind; ſometimes it muſt be of a knaviſh and treacherous, at leaſt, of an hypocritical, flattering caſt. He very ſeldom was ſeen at the king's table, though frequently invited to it; and whenever he prevailed ſo far upon himſelf as to go thither, his melancholy ſilent air was a manifeſt indication, that he diſapproved of every thing that was ſaid and done at it. With this humour, which was a little too ſevere, he would have been an ineſtimable treaſure, had he been poſſeſſed by a prince who hated falſehood; for among the many thouſands who ſurrounded Alexander, and paid court to him, Calliſthenes only had courage enough to tell him the truth. But where do we meet with princes who know the value of ſuch a virtue, and the uſe which ought to be made of it? Truth ſeldom pierces thoſe clouds which are raiſed by the authority of the great, and the flattery of their courtiers. And indeed Alexander, by this dreadful example, deprived all virtuous men of the opportunity of exhorting him to thoſe things which were for his true intereſt. From that inſtant no one ſpoke with freedom in the council; even thoſe, who had the greateſt love for the public good, and a perſonal affection for Alexander, thought themſelves not obliged to undeceive him. After this, nothing was liſtened to but flattery, which gained ſuch an aſcendant over that prince, as entirely depraved him, and juſtly puniſhed him, for having ſacrificed, to the wild ambition of having adoration paid him, the moſt virtuous man about his perſon.

I obſerve, after Seneca*, that the death of Calliſthenes is an eternal reproach to Alexander, and ſo horrid a crime, that no quality, how beautiful ſoever, no military exploit, though of the moſt conſpicuous kind, can ever efface its infamy. It is ſaid in favour of Alexander, that he killed an infinite number of Perſians; that he dethroned and ſlew the moſt powerful king of the earth; conquered innumerable provinces and nations; penetrated as far as the ocean, and extended the bounds of his empire from the moſt remote part of Thrace to the extremities of the eaſt: in anſwer to each of theſe particulars, "Yes," ſays Seneca, "but he mur-"dered Calliſthenes;" a crime of ſo heinous a nature, that it entirely obliterates the glory of all his other actions.

* Senec. Nat. Quæſt. l. vi. c. 23.

SECT.

## SECTION XV.

ALEXANDER SETS OUT FOR INDIA.—BESIEGES AND TAKES SEVERAL CITIES.—DEFEATS PORUS, WHOM HE RESTORES TO HIS THRONE.

ALEXANDER*, to ſtop the murmurs and diſcontents which aroſe among his ſoldiers, ſet out for India. He himſelf wanted action and motion; for he always, when unemployed, loſt part of the glory he had acquired in war. An exceſs of vanity and folly prompted him to undertake this expedition; a project quite uſeleſs in itſelf, and attended with very dangerous conſequences. He had read in the ancient fables of Greece, that Bacchus and Hercules, both ſons of Jupiter, as himſelf was, had marched ſo far. He was determined not to be ſurpaſſed by them; and there were not wanting flatterers, who applauded this wild chimerical deſign.

Theſe are the things that conſtitute the glory and merit of ſuch pretended heroes; and it is this which many people, dazzled by a falſe ſplendor, ſtill admire in Alexander: a ridiculous deſire of rambling up and down the world; of diſturbing the tranquillity of nations, who were not bound to him by any obligations; of treating all thoſe as enemies, who ſhould refuſe to acknowledge him for their ſovereign; of ranſacking and extirpating ſuch as ſhould preſume to defend their liberties, their poſſeſſions, and their lives, againſt an unjuſt invader, who came from the extremity of the earth to attack them, without the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon. Add to this glaring injuſtice, the raſh and ſtupid project he had formed, of ſubduing, with infinite labour, and the utmoſt hazard, many more nations than it was poſſible for him to keep in ſubjection; and the ſad neceſſity to which he was reduced, of being perpetually obliged to conquer them a-new, and puniſh them for their rebellion. This is a ſketch of what the conqueſt of India will exhibit to us, after I ſhall have given ſome little account of the ſituation and manners of that country, and ſome of its rarities.

Ptolemy divides India into two parts; India on this, and India on the other ſide of the Ganges. Alexander did not go beyond the former, nor even ſo far as the Ganges. This firſt part is ſituated between two great rivers, Indus, whence this country receives its name, and the Ganges. Ptolemy ſays, the limits of it are, to the weſt, Paropamiſus, Arachoſia, and Gedroſia, which either form a part, or are upon the confines of the kingdom of

* Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 9.

Perſia

Perſia; to the north, mount Imaus, which is part of Great Tartary: to the eaſt, the Ganges: to the ſouth, the Ocean, or Indian Sea.

*All the Indians are free, and, like the Lacedæmonians, have no ſlaves among them. The only difference is, the latter make uſe of foreign ſlaves, whereas there are none in India. They do not erect any monuments in honour of the dead; but are of opinion, that the reputation of illuſtrious men is their mauſolæum.

They may be divided into ſeven claſſes. The firſt and moſt honourable, though the ſmalleſt, is that of the Braehmans, who are, as it were, the guardians of religion. I ſhall have occaſion to mention them in the ſequel.

The ſecond and greateſt is that of the huſbandmen. Theſe are had in great veneration. Their only employment is to plough the fields, and they are never taken from this employment to carry arms and ſerve in the field in war time: it is an inviolable law, never to moleſt them or their lands.

The third is that of herdſmen and ſhepherds, who keep herds and flocks, and never come into the cities. They rove up and down the mountains, and often exerciſe themſelves in hunting.

The fourth is of traders and artificers, among whom pilots and ſeamen are included. Theſe three laſt orders pay a tribute to the king; and none are exempted from it but thoſe that make arms, who inſtead of paying any thing, receive a ſtipend from the public.

The fifth is of ſoldiers, whoſe only employment is war: they are furniſhed with all ſorts of neceſſaries; and, in time of peace, are abundantly ſupplied with all things. Their life, at all times, is free and diſengaged from cares of every kind.

The ſixth order is that of overſeers, Ἐπίσκοποι, who ſuperintend the actions of others, and examine every tranſaction, either in cities or the country, and report the whole to the prince. The virtues and qualities required in theſe magiſtrates are exactneſs, ſincerity, probity, and the love of their country. None of theſe magiſtrates, ſays the hiſtorian, have ever been accuſed of telling an untruth. Thrice happy nation, were this really fact! However, this obſervation proves at leaſt that truth and juſtice were had in great honour in this country, and that knavery and inſincerity were deteſted in it.

Laſtly, the ſeventh claſs conſiſts of perſons employed in the public councils, and who ſhare the cares of the government with

* Arrian. de India, p. 324—328.

the

the ſovereign. From this claſs are taken magiſtrates, intendants, governors of provinces, generals, and all military officers, whether for land or ſea; comptrollers of the treaſury, receivers, and all who are intruſted with the public monies.

Theſe different orders of the ſtate are never blended by marriage; and an artificer, for inſtance, is not allowed to take a wife from among the claſs of huſbandmen; and ſo of the reſt. None of theſe can follow two profeſſions at the ſame time, nor quit one claſs for another. It is natural to conclude, that this regulation muſt have contributed very much to the improvement of all arts and trades; as every one added his own induſtry and reflections to thoſe of his anceſtors which were delivered down to him by an uninterrupted tradition.

Many obſervations might be made on theſe Indian cuſtoms, which I am obliged to omit, for the ſake of proceeding in my hiſtory. I only entreat the reader to obſerve, that in every wiſe government, and every well-governed ſtate, the tilling of lands, and the grazing of cattle (two perpetual and certain ſources of riches and abundance), have always been one of the chief objects of the care of thoſe who preſide in the adminiſtration; and that the neglect of either, is erring againſt one of the moſt important maxims in policy.

I alſo admire very much that cuſtom of appointing overſeers, whether they are known for ſuch or not, who go upon the ſpot, in order to inſpect the conduct of governors, intendants, and judges; the only method to prevent the rapine and outrages to which unlimited authority, and the diſtance from a court, frequently give occaſion; the only method, at the ſame time, for a ſovereign to know the ſtate of his kingdom, without which it is impoſſible for him to govern happily the people whom Providence has intruſted to his care. This care regards him perſonally; and thoſe who act under him can no more diſpenſe with the diſcharge of it, than they can uſurp his diadem.

It is remarkable, that in India, from the month of June to thoſe of September and October, exceſſive rains fall very often, whereby the croſſing of rivers is rendered much more difficult, and frequent inundations happen. Hence we may judge how greatly, during all this ſeaſon, the armies of Alexander muſt have ſuffered, as they were at that time in the field.

Before I leave what relates in general to India, I ſhall ſay a few words concerning elephants, with which that country abounds more than any other. The elephant exceeds all terreſtrial animals in ſize. Some are thirteen or fifteen feet high. The female goes a whole year with her young. It lives ſometimes to the age of

100

100 or 120 years; nay much longer, if ſome ancient writers may be credited. Its noſe, called its trunk, "Proboſcis," is long and hollow like a large trumpet, and ſerves the elephant inſtead of a hand*, which it moves with incredible agility and ſtrength, and thereby is of prodigious ſervice to it. The † elephant, notwithſtanding its prodigious ſize, is ſo tractable and induſtrious, that one would be almoſt apt to conclude it were informed with ſomething like human reaſon. It is ſuſceptible of affection, fondneſs, and gratitude, ſo far as to pine away with ſorrow when it has loſt its maſter, and even ſometimes to deſtroy itſelf when it happens to have abuſed or murdered him in the tranſport of its fury. There is no kind of thing which it cannot be taught. Arrian, whoſe authority is not to be queſtioned, relates, that he had ſeen an elephant dance with two cymbals fixed to its legs, which he ſtruck one after the other in cadence with his trunk; and that the reſt danced round him, keeping time with a ſurpriſing exactneſs.

He deſcribes very particularly the manner in which they are taken. The Indians incloſe a large ſpot of ground, with a trench about 20 feet wide, and 15 feet high, to which there is acceſs but in one part, and this is a bridge, and is covered with turf; in order that theſe animals, who are very ſubtile, may not ſuſpect what is intended. Of the earth that is dug out of the trench, a kind of wall is raiſed, on the other ſide of which a little kind of chamber is made, where people conceal themſelves in order to watch theſe animals, and its entrance is very ſmall. In this incloſure two or three tame female elephants are ſet. The inſtant the wild elephants ſee or ſmell them, they run and whirl about ſo much, that at laſt they enter the incloſure, upon which the bridge is immediately broke down; and the people upon the watch fly to the neighbouring villages for help. After they have been broke for a few days by hunger and thirſt, people enter the incloſure upon tame elephants, and with theſe they attack them. As the wild ones are by this time very much weakened, it is impoſſible for them to make a long reſiſtance. After throwing them on the ground, men get upon their backs, having firſt made a deep wound round their necks, about which they throw a rope, in order to put them to great pain, in caſe they attempt to ſtir. Being tamed in this manner, they ſuffer themſelves to be laid quietly to the houſe with the reſt, where they are fed with graſs and green corn, and tamed inſenſibly by blows and hunger, till

* Manus data elephantis, quia propter magnitudinem corporis difficiles aditus habebant ad paſtum. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. ii. n. 123.

† Elephanto belluarum nulla providentior. At figura quæ vaſtior. De Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 97.

ſuch

ſuch time as they obey readily their maſter's voice, and perfectly underſtand his language.

Every one knows the uſe that was formerly made of theſe animals in battle; however, they frequently made greater havock in the army to which they belonged, than in that of the enemy. Their teeth, or rather tuſks, furniſh us with ivory. But it is time to return to Alexander.

* This prince having entered India †, all the petty kings of theſe countries came to meet him, and make their ſubmiſſions. They declared that he was the third ſon of Jupiter ‡who had arrived in their country: That they had known Bacchus and Hercules no otherwiſe than by fame; but as for Alexander, they had the happineſs to ſee him, and to enjoy his preſence. The king received them with the utmoſt humanity, commanding them to accompany him, and ſerve him as guides. As no more of them came in to pay their homage, he detached Hephæſtion and Perdiccas with part of his forces, commanding them to ſubdue all who ſhould refuſe to ſubmit. But, finding he was obliged to croſs ſeveral rivers, he cauſed boats to be built in ſuch a form, that they could be taken to pieces; the ſeveral parts of them to be carried upon waggons, and afterwards put together again. Then, having commanded Craterus to follow him with his phalanx, he himſelf marched before, with his cavalry and light-armed troops; and, after a ſlight engagement, he defeated thoſe who dared to make head againſt him, and purſued them to the next city, into which they fled. Craterus being come up, the king, in order to terrify, on a ſudden, thoſe nations who had not yet felt the power of the Macedonian arms, commanded his ſoldiers to burn down the fortifications of that place, which he beſieged in a regular way, and to put all the inhabitants of it to the ſword. But as he was going round the walls on horſeback, he was wounded by an arrow. Notwithſtanding this accident, he took the city, after which he made dreadful havock of all the ſoldiers and inhabitants, and did not ſo much as ſpare the houſes.

After ſubduing this nation, which was of great conſequence, he marched towards the city of Nyſa, and encamped pretty near its walls, behind a foreſt that hid it. In the mean time, it grew ſo very cold in the night, that they had never yet felt ſo exceſſive a

* Quint. Curt. l. viii. c. 9—14. Arrian. l. iv. p. 182—195. l. v. p. 195—221. Plut. in Alex. p 697—699. Diod. l. xvii. p. 557—559. Juſtin. l. xii. c. 7, 8.

† Quintus Curtius ſuppoſes, that ſeveral countries on the other ſide of the Indus, but adjacent to that river, belonged to India, and made part of it.

‡ Could theſe Greek names of gods be known to the Indians?

chill;

chill; but, very happily for them, a remedy was near at hand. They felled a great number of trees, and lighted up several fires, which proved very comfortable to the whole army. The besieged having attempted a sally with ill success, a faction arose in the city, some being of opinion, that it would be best to surrender, whilst others were for holding out the siege. This coming to the king's ear, he only blocked up the city, and did not do the inhabitants any further injury; till at last, tired out with the length of the siege, they surrendered at discretion, and accordingly were kindly treated by the conqueror. They declared that their city had been built by Bacchus. The whole army, for six days together, celebrated games, and made rejoicings on this mountain, in honour of the god who was there worshipped.

* He marched from thence to a country called Dædala, which had been abandoned by the inhabitants, who had fled for shelter to inaccessible mountains, as also to those of Acadera, into which he afterwards entered. This obliged him to change his method of war, and to disperse his forces in different places, by which means the enemy were all defeated at once: no resistance was made any where, and those who were so courageous as to wait the coming up of the Macedonians, were all cut to pieces. Ptolemy took several little cities the instant he sat down before them: Alexander carried the large ones, and, after uniting all his forces, passed the river † Choaspes, and left Cœnus to besiege a rich and populous city, called Bazica by the inhabitants.

He afterwards marched towards Magosa, whose king, called Assacanus, was lately dead, and Cleophes, his mother, ruled the province and city. There were 30,000 foot in it, and both nature and art seemed to have united their endeavours in raising its fortifications; for towards the east, it is surrounded with a very rapid river, the banks of which are steep, and difficult of access; and on the west are high, craggy rocks, at the foot whereof are caves, which, through length of time, had increased into a kind of abysses; and where these fail, a trench of an astonishing height is raised with incredible labour.

Whilst Alexander was going round the city, to view its fortifications, he was shot by an arrow in the calf of his leg; but he only pulled out the weapon; and, without so much as binding up the wound, mounted his horse, and continued to view the outward fortifications of the city. But as he rode with his leg downward, and the congealing of the blood put him to great pain, it

* A. M. 3677. Ant. J. C. 327.
† This is not the Choaspes which runs by Susa.

is related that he cried, * "Every one ſwears that I am the ſon "of Jupiter, but my wound makes me ſenſible that I am a man." However, he did not leave the place till he had ſeen every thing, and given all the neceſſary orders. Some of the ſoldiers, therefore, demoliſhed ſuch houſes as ſtood without the city, and with the rubbiſh of them they filled up the gulfs above mentioned. Others threw great trunks of trees and huge ſtones into them; and all laboured with ſo much vigour, that in nine days the works were completed, and the towers were raiſed upon them.

The king, without waiting till his wound was healed, viſited the works, and after applauding the ſoldiers for their great diſpatch, he cauſed the engines to be brought forward, whence a great number of darts were diſcharged againſt thoſe who defended the walls. But that which moſt terrified the Barbarians, was thoſe towers of a vaſt height, which ſeemed to them to move of themſelves. This made them imagine, that they were made to advance by the gods; and that thoſe battering-rams which beat down walls, and the javelins thrown by engines, the like of which they had never ſeen, could not be the effect of human ſtrength; ſo that, perſuaded that it would be impoſſible for them to defend the city, they withdrew into the citadel; but not finding themſelves more ſecure there, they ſent ambaſſadors to propoſe a ſurrender. The queen afterwards came and met Alexander, attended by a great number of ladies, who all brought him wine in cups, by way of ſacrifice. The king gave her a very gracious reception, and reſtored her to her kingdom.

From hence Polyſperchon was ſent with an army to beſiege the city of Ora, which he ſoon took. Moſt of its inhabitants had withdrawn to the rock called Aornos. There was a tradition, that Hercules having beſieged this rock, an earthquake had forced him to quit the ſiege. There are not on this rock, as on many others, gentle declivities of eaſy acceſs; but it riſes like a bank; and being very wide at bottom, grows narrow all the way to the top, which terminates in a point. The river Indus, whoſe ſource is not far from this place, flows at the bottom, its ſides being perpendicular and high; and on the other ſide were vaſt moraſſes, which it was neceſſary to fill up before the rock could be taken. Very happily for the Macedonians, they were near a foreſt. This the king had cut down, commanding his ſoldiers to carry off nothing but the trunks, the branches of which were lopped, in order that they might be carried with leſs difficulty; and he himſelf

* Omnes jurant me Jovis eſſe filium, ſed vulnus hoc hominem eſſe me clamat. Senec. Epiſt. lix.

threw

threw the first trunk into the morass. The army seeing this, shouted for joy, and every soldier labouring with incredible diligence, the work was finished in seven days; immediately after which the attack began. The officers were of opinion, that it would not be proper for the king to expose himself on this occasion, the danger being evidently too great. However, the trumpet had no sooner sounded, but this prince, who was not master of his courage, commanded his guards to follow, himself first climbing the rock. At this sight it appeared no longer inaccessible, and every one flew after him. Never were soldiers exposed to greater danger; but they were all resolved to conquer or die. Several fell from the rock into the river, whose whirlpools swallowed them up. The barbarians rolled great stones on the foremost, who being scarce able to keep upon their feet (the rock was so slippery), fell down the precipices, and were dashed to pieces. No sight could possibly be more dismal than this: the king, greatly afflicted at the loss of so many brave soldiers, caused a retreat to be sounded. Nevertheless, though he had lost all hopes of taking the place, and was determined to raise the siege, he acted as if he intended to continue it, and accordingly gave orders for bringing forward the towers and other engines. The besieged, by way of insult, made great rejoicings; and continued their festivity for two days and two nights, making the rock, and the whole neighbourhood, echo with the sound of their drums and cymbals. But the third night they were not heard; and the Macedonians were surprised to see every part of the rock illuminated with torches. The king was informed, that the Indians had lighted them to assist their flight, and to guide them the more easily in those precipices, during the obscurity of the night. Immediately the whole army, by Alexander's order, shouted aloud, which terrified the fugitives so much, that several of them, fancying they saw the enemy, flung themselves from the top of the rock, and perished miserably. The king having so happily and unexpectedly possessed himself of the rock, in an almost miraculous manner, thanked the gods, and offered sacrifices in their honour.

From hence he marched and took Ecbolimus; and after 16 days march arrived at the river Indus, where he found that Hephæstion had got all things ready for his passage, pursuant to the orders given him. The king of the country, called Omphis, whose father died some time before, had sent to Alexander, to know whether he would give him leave to wear the crown. Notwithstanding the Macedonian told him he might, he nevertheless delayed putting it on till his arrival. He then went to meet him,

with his whole army; and when Alexander was advanced pretty near, he puſhed forward his horſe, came up ſingly to him, and the king did the ſame. The Indian then told him by an interpreter, "That he was come to meet him at the head of his army, "in order to deliver up all his forces into his hands. That he "ſurrendered his perſon and his kingdom to a monarch, who, he "was ſenſible, fought only with the view of acquiring glory, and "dreaded nothing ſo much as treachery." The king, greatly ſatisfied with the frankneſs of the barbarian, gave him his hand, and reſtored him his kingdom. He then made Alexander a preſent of 56 elephants, and a great number of other animals of a prodigious ſize. Alexander aſking him which were moſt neceſſary to him, huſbandmen or ſoldiers? he replied, that as he was at war with two kings, the latter were of the greateſt ſervice to him. Theſe two monarchs were Abiſares and Porus, the latter of whom was moſt powerful, and the dominions of both were ſituated on the other ſide of the Hydaſpes. Omphis aſſumed the diadem, and took the name of Taxilus, by which the kings of that country were called. He made magnificent preſents to Alexander, who did not ſuffer himſelf to be exceeded in generoſity.

The next day, ambaſſadors from Abiſares waiting upon the king, ſurrendered up to him, purſuant to the power given them, all the dominions of their ſovereign; and after each party had promiſed fidelity on both ſides, they returned back.

Alexander expecting that Porus, aſtoniſhed with the report of his glory, would not fail to ſubmit to him, ſent a meſſage to that prince, as if he had been his vaſſal, requiring him to pay tribute, and meet him upon the frontiers of his dominions. Porus anſwered with great coldneſs, that he would do ſo, but it ſhould be ſword in hand. At the ſame time a reinforcement of 30 elephants, which were of great ſervice, were ſent to Alexander. He gave the ſuperintendence of all his elephants to Taxilus, and advanced as far as the borders of the Hydaſpes. Porus was encamped on the other ſide, in order to diſpute the paſſage with him; and had poſted at the head of his army 85 elephants of a prodigious ſize, and behind them 300 chariots, guarded by 30,000 foot; not having, at moſt, above 7000 horſe. This prince was mounted on an elephant of a much larger ſize than any of the reſt, and he himſelf exceeded the uſual ſtature of men; ſo that clothed in his armour glittering with gold and ſilver, he appeared at the ſame time terrible and majeſtic. The greatneſs of his courage equalled that of his ſtature, and he was as wiſe and prudent as it was poſſible for the monarch of ſo barbarous a people to be.

The

The Macedonians dreaded not only the enemy, but the river they were obliged to paſs. It was four furlongs wide (about 400 fathoms), and ſo deep in every part, that it looked like a ſea, and was no where fordable. It was vaſtly impetuous, notwithſtanding its great breadth, for it rolled with as much violence, as if it had been confined to a narrow channel; and its raging foaming waves, which broke in many places, diſcovered that it was full of ſtones and rocks. However, nothing was ſo dreadful as the appearance of the ſhore, which was quite covered with men, horſes, and elephants. Theſe hideous animals ſtood like ſo many towers, and the Indians exaſperated them, in order that the horrid cry they made might fill the enemy with the greateſt terror. However, this could not intimidate an army of men, whoſe courage was proof againſt all attacks, and who were animated by an uninterrupted ſeries of proſperities; but then they did not think it would be poſſible for them, as their barks were ſo crazy, to ſurmount the rapidity of the ſtream, or land with ſafety.

This river was full of little iſlands, to which the Indians and Macedonians uſed to ſwim, with their arms over their heads; and ſlight ſkirmiſhes were every day fought in the ſight of the two kings, who were well pleaſed to make thoſe ſmall excurſions of their reſpective forces, and to form a judgment from ſuch ſkirmiſhes, of the ſucceſs of a general battle. There were two young officers in Alexander's army, Egeſimachus and Nicanor, men of equal intrepidity, and who, having been ever ſucceſsful, deſpiſed dangers of every kind. They took with them the braveſt youths in the whole army: and, with no other weapons than their javelins, ſwam to an iſland in which ſeveral of the enemy were landed; where, with ſcarce any other aſſiſtance but their intrepidity, they made a great ſlaughter. After this bold ſtroke, they might have retired with glory, were it poſſible for raſhneſs, when ſucceſsful, to keep within bounds. But as they waited with contempt, and an inſulting air, for thoſe who came to ſuccour their companions, they were ſurrounded by a band of ſoldiers, who ſwam unperceived to the iſland, and overwhelmed with the darts which were ſhot from far. Thoſe who endeavoured to ſave themſelves by ſwimming, were either carried away by the waves, or ſwallowed up by the whirlpools. The courage of Porus, who ſaw all this from the ſhore, was ſurpriſingly increaſed by this ſucceſs.

Alexander was in great perplexity; and finding he could not paſs the Hydaſpes by force of arms, he therefore reſolved to have recourſe to artifice. Accordingly he cauſed his cavalry to at-

tempt ſeveral times to paſs it in the night, and to ſhout as if they really intended to ford the river, all things being prepared for that purpoſe. Immediately Porus hurried thither with his elephants, but Alexander continued in battle-array on the bank. This ſtratagem having been attempted ſeveral times, and Porus finding the whole but mere noiſe and empty menaces, he took no further notice of theſe motions, and only ſent ſcouts to every part of the ſhore. Alexander, being now no longer apprehenſive of having the whole army of the enemy fall upon him, in his attempting to croſs the river in the night, began to reſolve ſeriouſly to paſs it.

There was in this river, at a conſiderable diſtance from Alexander's camp, an iſland of a greater extent than any of the reſt. This being covered with trees, was very proper for him to cover and conceal his deſign, and therefore he reſolved to attempt the paſſage that way. However, the better to conceal the knowledge of it from the enemy, and deceive them on this occaſion, he left Craterus in his camp with a great part of the army, with orders to make a great noiſe, at a certain time which ſhould be appointed, in order to alarm the Indians, and make them believe that he was preparing to croſs the river; but that he ſhould not attempt this, till ſuch time as Porus ſhould have raiſed his camp, and marched away his elephants, either to withdraw or advance towards thoſe Macedonians who ſhould attempt the paſſage. Between the camp and the iſland he had poſted Meleager and Gorgias with the foreign horſe and foot, with orders for them to paſs over in bodies, the inſtant they ſhould ſee him engaged in battle.

After giving theſe orders, he took the reſt of his army, as well cavalry as infantry; and, wheeling off from the ſhore, in order to avoid being perceived, he advanced in the night time towards the iſland into which he was reſolved to go; and the better to deceive the enemy, Alexander cauſed his tent to be pitched in the camp where he had left Craterus, which was oppoſite to that of Porus. His life-guards were drawn up round in all the pomp and ſplendor with which the majeſty of a great king is uſually ſurrounded. He alſo cauſed a royal robe to be put upon Attalus, who was of the ſame age with himſelf, and ſo much reſembled the king, both in ſtature and features, eſpecially at ſo great a diſtance as the breadth of the river, that the enemy might ſuppoſe Alexander himſelf was on the bank, and was attempting the paſſage in that place. He however was by this time got to the iſland above-mentioned; and immediately landed upon it from boats, with the reſt of his troops, whilſt the enemy was employed in oppoſing Craterus. But now a furious ſtorm aroſe, which ſeemed

ſeemed as if it would retard the execution of his project, yet proved of advantage to it; for ſo fortunate was this prince, that obſtacles changed into advantages, and ſuccours in his favour: the ſtorm was ſucceeded by a very violent ſhower, with impetuous winds, flaſhes of lightning and thunder, inſomuch that there was no hearing or ſeeing any thing. Any man but Alexander would have abandoned his deſign; but he, on the contrary, was animated by danger, not to mention that the noiſe, the confuſion, and the darkneſs aſſiſted his paſſage. He thereupon made the ſignal for the embarkation of his troops, and went off himſelf in the firſt boat. It is reported, that it was on this occaſion he cried out, "O Athenians, could you think I would expoſe my-"ſelf to ſuch dangers to merit your applauſe!" And, indeed, nothing could contribute more to eternize his name, than the having his actions recorded by ſuch great hiſtorians as Thucydides and Xenophon *; and ſo anxious was he about the character which would be given him after his death, that he wiſhed it were poſſible for him to return again into the world only ſo long as was neceſſary to know what kind of impreſſion the peruſal of his hiſtory made on the minds of men.

Scarce any perſon appeared to oppoſe their deſcent, becauſe Porus was wholly taken up with Craterus, and imagined he had nothing to do but to oppoſe his paſſage. Immediately this general, purſuant to his orders, made a prodigious clamour, and ſeemed to attempt the paſſage of the river. Upon this all the boats came to ſhore, one excepted, which the waves daſhed to pieces againſt a rock. The moment Alexander was landed, he drew up in order of battle his little army, conſiſting of 6000 foot and 5000 horſe. He himſelf headed the latter; and having commanded the foot to make all imaginable diſpatch after him, he marched before. It was his firm opinion, that in caſe the Indians ſhould oppoſe him with their whole force, his cavalry would give him infinite advantage over them; and that, be this as it would, he might eaſily continue fighting till his foot ſhould come up; or, that in caſe the enemy, alarmed at the news of his paſſing, ſhould fly, it would then be in his power to purſue, and make a great ſlaughter of them.

Porus, upon hearing that Alexander had paſſed the river, had ſent againſt him a detachment, commanded by one of his ſons, of 2000 horſe, and 120 chariots. Alexander imagined them at firſt to be the enemy's van-guard, and that the whole army was behind them; but, being informed that it was a detachment, he charged

* Lucian. de conſcrib. hiſt. p. 664.

them

them with ſuch vigour, that Porus's ſon was killed upon the ſpot, with 400 horſes, and all the chariots were taken. Each of theſe chariots carried ſix men; two were armed with bucklers, two bowmen ſat one on each ſide, and two guided the chariot, who nevertheleſs always fought when the battle grew warm, having a great number of darts, which they diſcharged at the enemy. But all theſe did little execution that day, becauſe the rain, which fell in great abundance, had moiſtened the earth to ſuch a degree, that the horſes could ſcarce ſtand upon their legs; and the chariots being very heavy, moſt of them ſunk very deep into the mud.

Porus, upon receiving advice of the death of his ſon, the defeat of the detachment, and of Alexander's approach, was in doubt whether it would be proper for him to continue in his poſt, becauſe Craterus, with the reſt of the Macedonian army, made a feint as if they intended to paſs the river. However, he at laſt reſolved to go and meet Alexander, whom he juſtly ſuppoſed to be at the head of the choiceſt troops of his army. Accordingly, leaving only a few elephants in his camp, to amuſe thoſe who were poſted on the oppoſite ſhore, he ſet out with 30,000 foot, 4000 horſe, 3000 chariots, and 200 elephants. Being come into a firm, ſandy ſoil, in which his horſes and chariots might wheel about with eaſe, he drew up his army in battle-array, with an intent to wait the coming up of the enemy. He poſted in front and on the firſt line, all the elephants, at 100 feet diſtance one from the other, in order that they might ſerve as a bulwark to his foot, who were behind. It was his opinion, that the enemy's cavalry would not dare to engage in theſe intervals, becauſe of the fear thoſe horſes would have of the elephants; and much leſs the infantry, when they ſhould ſee that of the enemy poſted behind the elephants; and in danger of being trod to pieces by thoſe animals. He had poſted ſome of his foot on the ſame line with the elephants, in order to cover their right and left; and this infanty was covered by two wings of horſe, before which the chariots were poſted. Such was the order and diſpoſition of Porus's army.

Alexander being come in ſight of the enemy, waited the coming up of his foot, which marched with the utmoſt diligence, and arrived a little after; and in order that they might have time to take breath, and not be led, as they were very much fatigued, againſt the enemy, he cauſed his horſe to make a great many evolutions, in order to gain time. But now every thing being ready, and the infantry having ſufficiently recovered their vigour, Alexander gave the ſignal of battle. He did not think proper to begin

gin by attacking the enemy's main body, where the infantry and elephants were poſted, for the very reaſon that Porus drew them up in that manner: but his cavalry being ſtronger, he drew out the greateſt part of them; and marching againſt the left wing, ſent Cœnus with his own regiment of horſe, and that of Demetrius, to charge them at the ſame time; ordering him to attack the cavalry on the left, behind, during which he himſelf would charge them both in front and flank. Seleucus, Antigonus, and Tauron, who commanded the foot, were ordered not to ſtir from their poſts, till Alexander's cavalry had put that of the enemy, as well as their foot, into diſorder.

Being come within arrow-ſhot, he detached 1000 bowmen on horſeback, with orders for them to make their diſcharge on the horſe of Porus's left wing, in order to throw it into diſorder, whilſt he himſelf ſhould charge this body in flank, before it had time to rally. The Indians, having joined again their ſquadrons, and drawn them up into a narrower compaſs, advanced againſt Alexander. At that inſtant Cœnus charged them in the rear, according to the orders given him; inſomuch that the Indians were obliged to face about on all ſides, to defend themſelves from the 1000 bowmen, and againſt Alexander and Cœnus. Alexander, to make the beſt advantage of the confuſion into which this ſudden attack had thrown them, charged with great vigour thoſe that made head againſt him, who being no longer able to ſtand ſo violent an attack, were ſoon broke, and retired behind the elephants, as to an impregnable rampart. The leaders of the elephants made them advance againſt the enemy's horſe; but, that very inſtant, the Macedonian phalanx, moving on a ſudden, ſurrounded thoſe animals, and charged with their pikes the elephants themſelves and their leaders. This battle was very different from all thoſe which Alexander had hitherto fought; for the elephants ruſhing upon the battalions, broke, with inexpreſſible fury, the thickeſt of them; when the Indian horſe, ſeeing the Macedonian foot ſtopped by the elephants, returned to the charge: however, that of Alexander being ſtronger, and having greater experience in war, broke this body a ſecond time, and obliged it to retire towards the elephants; upon which the Macedonian horſe, being all united in one body, ſpread terror and confuſion wherever they attacked. The elephants being all covered with wounds, and the greateſt part having loſt their leaders, they did not obſerve their uſual order; but, diſtracted as it were with pain, no longer diſtinguiſhed friends from foes, but running about from place to place, they overthrew every thing that came in their way. The Macedonians, who had purpoſely left a greater interval

interval between their battalions, either made way for them, wherever they came forward, or charged with darts thoſe that fear and the tumult obliged to retire. Alexander, after having ſurrounded the enemy with his horſe, made a ſignal to his foot to march up with all imaginable ſpeed, in order to make a laſt effort, and to fall upon them with his whole force; all which they executed very ſucceſsfully. In this manner the greateſt part of the Indian cavalry were cut to pieces; and a body of their foot, which ſuſtained no leſs loſs, ſeeing themſelves charged on all ſides, at laſt fled. Craterus, who had continued in the camp with the reſt of his army, ſeeing Alexander engaged with Porus, croſſed the river, and charging the routed ſoldiers with his troops, who were cool and vigorous, by that means killed as many enemies in the retreat as had fallen in the battle.

The Indians loſt on this occaſion 20,000 foot and 3000 horſe, not to mention the chariots which were all broke to pieces, and the elephants that were either killed or taken. Porus's two ſons fell in this battle, with Spitacus, governor of the province; all the colonels of horſe and foot, and thoſe who guided the elephants and chariots. As for Alexander, he loſt but 80 of the 6000 ſoldiers who were at the firſt charge, 10 bowmen of the horſe, 20 of his horſe guards, and 200 common ſoldiers.

Porus, after having performed all the duty both of a ſoldier and a general in the battle, and fought with incredible bravery, ſeeing all his horſe defeated, and the greateſt part of his foot, did not behave like the great Darius, who, on a like diſaſter, was the firſt that fled: on the contrary, he continued in the field as long as one battalion or ſquadron ſtood their ground; but at laſt, having received a wound in the ſhoulder, he retired upon his elephant, and was eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, by the greatneſs of his ſtature, and his unparalleled bravery. Alexander, finding who he was by thoſe glorious marks, and being deſirous of ſaving this king, ſent Taxilus after him, becauſe he was of the ſame nation. The latter advancing as near to him as he might, without running any danger of being wounded, called out to him to ſtop, in order to hear the meſſage he had brought him from Alexander. Porus turning back, and ſeeing it was Taxilus, his old enemy; "How!" ſays he, "is it not Taxilus that calls, that traitor to his country "and kingdom?" Immediately after which, he would have tranſfixed him with his dart, had he not inſtantly retired. Notwithſtanding this, Alexander was ſtill deſirous to ſave ſo brave a prince, and thereupon diſpatched other officers, among whom was Merœ, one of his intimate friends, who beſought him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to wait upon a conqueror, altogether worthy of him.

him. After much intreaty, Porus conſented, and accordingly ſet forwards. Alexander, who had been told of his coming, advanced forwards in order to receive him with ſome of his train. Being come pretty near, Alexander ſtopped, purpoſely to take a view of his ſtature and noble mein, he being about five cubits in height*. Porus did not ſeem dejected at his misfortune, but came up with a reſolute countenance, like a valiant warrior, whoſe courage in defending his dominions ought to acquire him the eſteem of the brave prince who had taken him priſoner. Alexander ſpoke firſt, and with an auguſt and gracious air, aſked him how he deſired to be treated? "Like a king," replied Porus. "But," continued Alexander, "do you aſk nothing more?" "No," replied Porus; "all things are included in that ſingle "word." Alexander, ſtruck with this greatneſs of ſoul, the magnanimity of which ſeemed heightened by diſtreſs, did not only reſtore him his kingdom, but annexed other provinces to it, and treated him with the higheſt teſtimonies of honour, eſteem, and friendſhip. Porus was faithful to him till his death. It is hard to ſay, whether the victor or the vanquiſhed beſt deſerved praiſe on this occaſion.

Alexander built a city on the ſpot where the battle had been fought, and another in that place where he had croſſed the river. He called the one Nicæa from his victory, and the other Bucephalon, in honour of his horſe who died there, not of his wounds, but of old age. After having paid the laſt duties to ſuch of his ſoldiers as had loſt their lives in battle, he ſolemnized games, and offered up ſacrifices of thanks, in the place where he had paſſed the Hydaſpes.

This prince did not know to whom he was indebted for his victories. We are aſtoniſhed at the rapidity of Alexander's conqueſts; the eaſe with which he ſurmounts the greateſt obſtacles, and forces almoſt impregnable cities; the uninterrupted and unheard-of felicity that extricates him out of thoſe dangers into which his raſhneſs plunges him, and in which, one would have concluded, he muſt a hundred times have periſhed. But to unravel theſe myſterious kinds of events, ſeveral of which are repugnant to the uſual courſe of things, we muſt go back to a ſuperior cauſe, unknown to the profane hiſtorians, and to Alexander himſelf. This monarch was, like Cyrus, the miniſter and inſtrument of the ſovereign diſpoſer of empires, who raiſes and deſtroys them at pleaſure. He had received the ſame orders to overthrow the Perſian and eaſtern empires, as Cyrus to deſtroy that of Babylon.

* Seven feet and a half.

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The ſame power conducted their enterpriſes, aſſured them of ſucceſs, protected and preſerved them from all dangers, till they had executed their commiſſion and completed their miniſtry. We may apply to Alexander, the words which God ſpake to Cyrus in Iſaiah, "* Cyrus, whoſe right hand I have holden, to ſubdue "nations before him; and I will cauſe the loins of kings to open "before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates ſhall not be ſhut: "I will go before thee, and make the crooked paths ſtraight; I "will break in pieces the gates of braſs, and cut in ſunder the "bars of iron. And I will give thee treaſures of darkneſs, and "hidden treaſures of ſecret places.—I girded thee, though thou "haſt not known me." This is the true and only cauſe of the incredible ſucceſs with which this conqueror was attended; of his unparalleled bravery; the affection his ſoldiers had for him, the foreknowledge of his felicity, and his aſſurance of ſucceſs, which aſtoniſhed his moſt intrepid captains.

## SECTION XVI.

### ALEXANDER ADVANCES INTO INDIA.—HE IS EXPOSED TO GREAT DANGER AT THE SIEGE OF OXYDRACAE.

ALEXANDER†, after this famous victory over Porus, advanced into India, where he ſubdued a great many nations and cities. He looked upon himſelf as a conqueror by profeſſion as well as by his dignity, and engaged every day in new exploits with ſo much ardor and vivacity, that he ſeemed to fancy himſelf inveſted with a perſonal commiſſion, and that there was an immediate obligation upon him to ſtorm all cities, to lay waſte all provinces, to extirpate all nations, which ſhould refuſe his yoke; and that he ſhould have conſidered himſelf as guilty of a crime, had he forborne viſiting every corner of the earth, and carrying terror and deſolation wherever he went. He paſſed the Aceſines, and afterwards the Hydraotes, two conſiderable rivers. Advice was then brought him, that a great number of free Indians had made a confederacy to defend their liberties; and among the reſt, the Caytheans, who were the moſt valiant and moſt ſkilful of thoſe nations in the art of war; and that they were incamped near a ſtrong city, called Sangala. Alexander ſet out againſt theſe Indians, defeated them in a pitched battle, took the city, and razed it to the very foundations.

* Chap. xlv. 1—5.

† A. M. 3678. Ant. J. C. 326. Q. Curt. l. ix. c. 1.

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* One day, as he was riding at the head of his army, some philosophers, called Brachmans in the language of that country, were conversing together, as they were walking in a meadow. The instant they perceived him, they all stamped against the ground with their feet. Alexander, surprised at this extraordinary gesture, demanded the cause of it. They answered, pointing to the ground with their fingers, "that no man possessed any "more of that element than he could enjoy: that the only difference between him and other men, was, that he was more restless and ambitious than they, and over-ran all seas and lands, "merely to harm others and himself: and yet——he would die "at last, and possess no greater part of the earth than was necessary for his interment." The king was not displeased with this answer: But he was hurried on by the torrent of glory, and his actions were the very reverse of what he approved.

These Brachmans, says Arrian, are in great veneration in their country. They do not pay any tribute to the prince, but assist him with their counsel, and perform the same offices as the Magi do to the kings of Persia. They assist at the public sacrifices; and if a person desires to sacrifice in private, one of these must be present, otherwise the Indians are persuaded they would not be agreeable to the gods. They apply themselves particularly to consulting the stars; none but themselves pretend to divination; and they foretel, chiefly, the change of weather and of the seasons. If a Brachman has failed thrice in his predictions, he is silenced for ever.

Their sentiments, according to Strabo, are not very different from those of the Greeks. They believe that the world had a beginning; that it will end; that its form is circular; that it was created by God, who presides over, and fills it with his majesty; and that water is the principle of all things. With regard to the immortality of the soul, and the punishment of the wicked in hell, they follow the doctrine of Plato; intermixing it, like that philosopher, with some fictions, in order to express or describe those punishments.

Several among them go always naked, whence the Greeks gave them the name of Gymnosophists. Many incredible particulars are related, concerning the austerity of their lives and their prodigious patience. Their only meat and drink is roots and water. As they admit the metempsychosis, and believe that the souls of men transmigrate into those of beasts, they abstain from the

* Arrian. l. vii. p. 275, 276. Id. in Indic. p. 324. Strab. l. xv. p. 715—717. Plut. in Alex. p. 701. Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 9.

fleſh of animals. It is thought, that Pythagoras borrowed this doctrine from the Brachmans. They continue whole days ſtanding with their faces towards the ſun, and that in the ſeaſon when this planet darts its rays with the greateſt violence. Perſuaded that it is beneath the dignity of a man to wait calmly for death, when he finds himſelf oppreſſed by age or ſickneſs, they hold it glorious to prevent their laſt hour, and burn themſelves alive; and, indeed, they pay no honours to thoſe who die merely of old age; and imagine they would pollute their funeral pile, and the fire that is to burn them to aſhes, ſhould they go into it otherwiſe than full of life and vigour. Other Brachmans, more judicious and humane than the former, live in cities, and aſſociate with their own ſpecies; and ſo far from conſidering ſelf-murder as a virtuous or brave action, they look upon it as a weakneſs in man not to wait patiently the ſtroke of death, and as a crime to dare to anticipate the will of the gods.

Cicero admires, in his Tuſculan queſtions, the invincible patience, not only of the Indian ſages, but alſo of the * women of that country, who uſed to conteſt for the honour of dying with their common huſband. This privilege was reſerved for that wife whom the huſband had loved moſt affectionately, and was given in her favour by the ſentence of perſons appointed for that purpoſe, who never gave a judgment till ſuch time as they had made a ſtrict examination, and heard the allegations on all ſides. The wife on whom the preference was beſtowed, ran to meet death, and aſcended the funeral pile with incredible joy and patience; whilſt the ſurviving wives withdrew in the deepeſt tranſports of affliction, and with their eyes bathed in tears.

The deſcription which † Porphyrius has left us of theſe philoſophers, reſembles in many particulars that given above. According to this author, the Brachmans live on herbs, roots, and fruits. They abſtain from animals of every kind, and if they touch any, they thereby render themſelves unclean. They ſpend the greateſt part of the day and night in ſinging hymns in honour of their gods. They faſt and pray perpetually. The greateſt part of them live alone, and in the deepeſt ſolitude, and neither marry nor profeſs any thing. They wiſh for nothing ſo earneſtly as death; and conſidering this life as a burden, they wait impatiently for the moment when the ſoul will leave the body.

* Mulieres in India, cum eſt cujuſque earum vir mortuus, in certamen judicium que veniunt, quam plurimum ille dilexerit: plures enim ſingulis ſolent eſſe nuptæ. Quæ eſt victrix, ea læta, proſequentibus ſuis, una cum viro in rogum imponitur: illa victa, mœſta diſcedit. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. v. n. 78.

† Lib. de Abſtin. Animal.

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These philosophers exist still in India, where they are called Bramins; and retain, in many points, the tradition and tenets of the ancient Brachmans.

Alexander, passing near a city wherein several of these Brachmans dwelt, was very desirous to converse with them, and, if possible, to prevail with some of them to follow him. Being informed that these philosophers never made visits, but that those who had an inclination to see them must go to their houses, he concluded, that it would be beneath his dignity to go to them; and not just, to force these sages to any thing contrary to their laws and usages. Onesicritus, who was a great philosopher, and had been a disciple of Diogenes the Cynic, was deputed to them. He met, not far from the city, with fifteen Brachmans, who from morning till evening stood always naked, in the same posture in which they at first had placed themselves, and afterwards returned to the city at night. He addressed himself first to Calanus, and told him the occasion of his coming. The latter, gazing upon Onesicritus' clothes and shoes, could not forbear laughing; after which he told him, "That anciently the earth "had been covered with barley and wheat, as it was at that time "with dust; that besides water, the rivers used to flow with "milk, honey, oil, and wine. That man's guilt had occasioned "a change of this happy condition; and that Jupiter, to pu-"nish their ingratitude, had sentenced them to a long, painful la-"bour. That their repentance afterwards moving him to com-"passion, he had restored them their former abundance; how-"ever that by the course of things, they seemed to be returning "to their ancient confusion." This relation shows evidently, that these philosophers had some notion of the felicity of the first man, and of the evil to which he had been sentenced for his sins.

After this first conversation, Onesicritus spoke to Mandanis, the chief, and as it were the superior of the band. This Brachman said, "That he thought Alexander worthy of admiration, in "seeking thus for wisdom in the midst of the cares of his govern-"ment: * that he was the first, who had ever united in himself "the two characters of conqueror and philosopher; that it were "to be wished, that the latter character were the attribute of "those who could inspire the wisdom which they themselves pos-"sessed, and command it by their authority." He added, that he could not conceive the motive which had prompted Alexander to undertake so long and laborious a journey, nor what he came in search of, in so remote a country.

* Μόνον γὰρ δὴ τοῦτον τῶν ὅπλων φιλοσοφοῦντα.

Oneſicritus was very urgent with both of them to quit their auſtere way of life, and follow the fortune of Alexander, ſaying, that they would find in him a generous maſter and benefactor, who would heap upon them honours and riches of all kinds. Then Mandanis aſſuming a haughty, philoſophical tone, anſwered, "That he did not want Alexander, and was the ſon of Jupiter "as well as himſelf: that he was exempted from want, deſire, or "fear: that ſo long as he ſhould live, the earth would furniſh "him all things neceſſary for his ſubſiſtence, and that death would "rid him of a troubleſome companion (meaning his body), and "ſet him at full liberty." Calanus appeared more tractable; and notwithſtanding the oppoſition, and even the prohibition of his ſuperior, who reproached him for his abject ſpirit, in ſtooping ſo low as to ſerve another maſter beſides God, he followed Oneſicritus, and went to Alexander's court, who received him with great demonſtrations of joy.

We find by hiſtory, that this people uſed often to employ parables and ſimilitudes for conveying their thoughts. One day as he was diſcourſing with Alexander, upon the maxims of wiſe policy and a prudent adminiſtration, he exhibited to that prince a ſenſible image, and a natural emblem of his empire. He laid upon the ground a great ox-hide, which was very dry and ſhrunk up, and then ſet his foot upon one end of it: the hide, being preſſed ſo, gave way, and all the other ends flew up; going thus quite round the hide, and preſſing the ſeveral ends of it, he made him obſerve, that whilſt he lowered it on one ſide, all the reſt roſe up, till treading at laſt upon the middle, the hide fell equally on all ſides. By this image he hinted to him, that it would be proper for him to reſide in the centre of his dominions, and not undertake ſuch long journeys. We ſhall ſoon ſhow the reader the manner in which this philoſopher ended his days.

*Alexander being determined to continue the war as long as he ſhould meet with new nations, and to look upon them as enemies whilſt they ſhould live independent on him, was meditating about paſſing the Hyphaſus. He was told, that after paſſing that river he muſt travel eleven days through deſerts, and that then he would arrive at the Ganges, the greateſt river in all India. That farther in the country lived the Gangaridæ and the Praſii, whoſe king was preparing to oppoſe his entering his dominions, at the head of 20,000 horſe, and 200,000 foot, reinforced by

* Q. Curt. l. ix. c. 1—9. Arrian. l. v. p. 221—234. et l. vi. p. 255—259. Plut. in Alex. p. 699. 701. Diod. l. xvii. p. 559—570. Juſtin. l. xii. c. 9, 10.

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2000 chariots; and (which ſtruck the greateſt terror) with 3000 elephants. A report of this being ſpread through the army, ſurpriſed all the ſoldiers, and raiſed a general murmur. The Macedonians, who, after having travelled through ſo many countries, and being grown grey in the field, were inceſſantly directing their eyes and wiſhes towards their dear native country, made loud complaints, that Alexander ſhould every day heap war upon war, and danger on danger. They had undergone, but juſt before, inexpreſſible fatigues, having been expoſed to rain, accompanied with ſtorms and thunder, for above two months. Some bewailed their calamities in ſuch terms as raiſed compaſſion; others inſolently cried aloud, that they would march no farther.

Alexander, being informed of this tumult, and that ſecret aſſemblies were formed in his camp, to prevent the ill conſequences of them, ſent for the officers into his tent, and commanding them to call the ſoldiers together, he made the following ſpeech: "I "am not ignorant, O ſoldiers, that the Indians have publiſhed "ſeveral things, purpoſely to terrify us; but ſuch diſcourſes and "artifices are not unuſual to you. Thus the Perſians deſcribed "the Straits of Cilicia, the vaſt plains of Meſopotamia, the rivers "Tigris and Euphrates, as ſo many inſurmountable difficulties, "and yet your bravery conquered them. Do you repent that "you have followed me thus far? As your glorious deeds have "ſubdued for you a multitude of provinces; as you have extended "your conqueſts beyond the Jaxarthes and mount Caucaſus; as "you ſee the rivers of India flow through the midſt of your empire, "why are you afraid of croſſing the Hyphaſus, and of ſetting "up your trophies on the banks of it, as on thoſe of the Hydaſpes? What! can the elephants, whoſe number is ſo falſely "augmented, terrify you to ſuch a degree? But has not experience taught you, that they were more deſtructive to their own "maſters than to the enemy? Endeavours are uſed to intimidate "you by the dreadful idea of innumerable armies; but are they "more numerous than thoſe of Darius? It is ſure very late for you "to count the legions of the enemy, after your victories have "made Aſia a deſert. It was when you croſſed the Helleſpont "that you ought to have reflected on the ſmall number of your "forces: but now the Scythians form part of our army; the "Bactrians, the Sogdians, and the Dahæ are with us, and fight "for our glory. I, however, do not depend on thoſe barbarians: "It is on you only that I rely; your victorious arms only are "preſent to my imagination, and your courage alone aſſures me "ſucceſs. So long as I ſhall be ſurrounded with you in fight, "I ſhall not have any occaſion to count the number of my troops,

"nor

" nor that of my enemy, provided you go on to battle with the " ſame marks of joy and confidence you have hitherto diſcovered. " Not only your glory, but even your ſafety is at ſtake. Should " we now retreat, it will be ſuppoſed that we fly before our ene- " mies, and from that moment we ſhall appear as mean as the " enemy will be judged formidable, for you are ſenſible, that in " war reputation is every thing. It is in my power to make uſe " of authority, and yet I employ entreaties only. Do not aban- " don, I conjure you, I do not ſay your king and maſter, but " your pupil and companion in battles. Do not break to pieces " in my hand that glorious palm, which will ſoon, unleſs envy " rob me of ſo great a glory, equal me to Hercules and to Bac- " chus." As the ſoldiers ſtood with their eyes caſt on the ground, and did not once open their lips—" What!" continued he, " do " I then ſpeak to the deaf? Will no one liſten to me, nor con- " deſcend to anſwer? Alas! I am abandoned, I am betrayed, I " am delivered up to the enemy. But—I will advance ſtill far- " ther, though I go alone. The Scythians and Bactrians, more " faithful than you, will follow me whitherſoever I lead them. " Return then to your country, and boaſt, ye deſerters of your " king, that you have abandoned him. As for myſelf, I will here " meet either with the victory you deſpair of, or with a glorious " death, which henceforwards ought to be the ſole object of my " wiſhes."

Notwithſtanding this lively, pathetic ſpeech, the ſoldiers ſtill kept a profound ſilence. They waited in expectation of hearing their commanders and chief officers remonſtrate to the king, that their affection was as ſtrong as ever; but that as their bodies were covered with wounds, and worn out with toils, it would be impoſſible for them to continue the war. However not one of them preſumed to addreſs him in their favour. The examples of Clitus, and that of Calliſthenes, were ſtill recent. The officers, who were then with him, had an hundred times ventured their lives in battle for their prince; but they had not the courage to hazard the loſing of their fortunes by telling him the truth. Whilſt, therefore, the ſoldiers, as well as officers, continued dumb, without once daring to lift up their eyes, there roſe on a ſudden a murmur, which, increaſing by inſenſible degrees, broke into ſuch deep groans and floods of tears, that the king himſelf, whoſe anger was now changed into compaſſion, could not forbear weaping.

At laſt, whilſt the whole aſſembly were in tears, and in deep ſilence, Cœnus took courage, and drew near to the throne, diſcovering by his air and action, that he deſired to ſpeak. And when the ſoldiers ſaw him take off his helmet (that being the

cuſtom

cuſtom when any perſon ſpake to the king), they beſought him to plead the cauſe of the army: and accordingly he ſpoke as follows: "No, Sir, we are not charged with regard to our affection for you: God forbid that ſo great a calamity ſhould befall us. We ſhall always retain the ſame zeal, the ſame affection and fidelity. We are ready to follow you at the hazard of our lives, and to march whitherſoever you ſhall think fit to lead us. But if your ſoldiers may be allowed to lay before you their ſentiments ſincerely, and without diſguiſe, they beſeech you to condeſcend ſo far as to give ear to their reſpectful complaints, which nothing but the moſt extreme neceſſity could have extorted from them. The greatneſs, Sir, of your exploits has conquered, not only your enemies, but even your ſoldiers themſelves. We have done all that it was poſſible for men to do. We have croſſed ſeas and lands. We ſhall ſoon have marched to the end of the world; and you are meditating the conqueſt of another, by going in ſearch of new Indies, unknown to the Indians themſelves. Such a thought may be worthy of your valour, but it ſurpaſſes ours, and our ſtrength ſtill more. Behold thoſe ghaſtly faces, and thoſe bodies covered over with wounds and ſcars. You are ſenſible how numerous we were at our firſt ſetting out, and you ſee what now remains of us. The few, who have eſcaped ſo many toils and dangers, are neither brave nor ſtrong enough to follow you. All of them long to reviſit their relations and country, and to enjoy in peace the fruit of their labours and your victories. Forgive them a deſire natural to all men. It will be glorious, Sir, for you to have fixed ſuch boundaries to your fortune, as only your moderation could preſcribe you; and to have vanquiſhed yourſelf, after having conquered all your enemies."

Cœnus had no ſooner ſpoke, but there were heard, on all ſides, cries and confuſed voices intermixed with tears, calling upon the king as "their lord and father." Afterwards, all the reſt of the officers, eſpecially thoſe who aſſumed a greater authority becauſe of their age, and for that reaſon could be better excuſed the freedom they took, made the ſame humble requeſt: but ſtill the king would not comply with it. It muſt coſt a monarch many pangs, before he can prevail with himſelf to comply with things repugnant to his inclination. Alexander therefore ſhut himſelf up two days in his tent, without once ſpeaking to any one, not even to his moſt familiar friends, in order to ſee whether ſome change might not be wrought in the army, as frequently happens on ſuch occaſions. But, finding it would be impoſſible to change

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the reſolution of the ſoldiers, he commanded them to prepare for their return. This news filled the whole army with inexpreſſible joy; and Alexander never appeared greater, or more glorious, than on this day, in which he deſigned, for the ſake of his ſubjects, to ſacrifice ſome part of his glory and grandeur. The whole camp echoed with praiſes and bleſſings of Alexander, for having ſuffered himſelf to be overcome by his own army, who was invincible to the reſt of the world. No triumph is comparable to thoſe acclamations and applauſes that come from the heart, and which are the lively and ſincere overflowings of it; and it is great pity that princes are not more affected with them.

Alexander had not ſpent above three or four months, at moſt, in conquering all the country between the Indus and the Hyphaſus, called to this day Pengab, that is, the Five Waters, from the five rivers which compoſe it. Before his ſetting out, he raiſed 12 altars, to ſerve as ſo many trophies and thankſgivings for the victories he had obtained.

Theſe inſtances of gratitude, in regard to the gods, were attended with the moſt incredible marks of vanity. The altars which he erected in their honour were 75 feet high. He cauſed a camp to be marked out, three times as large again as his own, and ſurrounded it with foſſes 50 feet in depth by 10 broad. He ordered the foot to prepare, and leave each in his tent two beds, ſeven feet and a half in length: and the cavalry to make mangers for the horſes of twice the uſual dimenſions. Every thing elſe was in proportion. Alexander's view in thoſe orders, which flowed from an extravagance of vanity, was to leave poſterity monuments of his heroic and more than human grandeur, and to have it believed that himſelf and his followers were ſuperior to all other mortals.

He afterwards croſſed the Hydraotes, and left Porus all the lands he had conquered, as far as the Hyphaſus. He alſo reconciled this monarch with Taxilus, and ſettled a peace between them by means of an alliance, equally advantageous to both. * From thence he went and encamped on the banks of the Aceſines; but great rains having made this river overflow its banks, and the adjacent countries being under water, he was obliged to remove his camp higher up. Here a fit of ſickneſs carried off Cœnus, whoſe loſs was bewailed by the king and whole army. There was not a greater officer among the Macedonians, and he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very particular manner in every battle in which he engaged. He was one of thoſe ſingularly good men, zealous for

* Arr. in Ind. p. 319. Strab. l. xv. p. 692.

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the public, all whose actions are free from self-interested or ambitious views, and who bear so great a love to their king, as to dare to tell him the truth, be the consequence what it will. But now Alexander was preparing for his departure.

His fleet consisted of 800 vessels, as well galleys as boats, to carry the troops and provisions. Every thing being ready, the whole army embarked, about the setting of the Pleiades, or seven stars, according to Aristobulus, that is, about the end of October. The fifth day, the fleet arrived where the Hydaspes and Acesines mix their streams. Here the ships were very much shattered, because these rivers unite with such prodigious rapidity, that as great storms arise in this part as in the open sea. At last he came into the country of the Oxydracæ and the Malli, the most valiant people in those parts. These were perpetually at war one with another; but, having united for their mutual safety, they had drawn together 10,000 horse, and 80,000 foot, all vigorous young men, with 900 chariots. However, Alexander defeated them in several engagements, dispossessed them of their strong holds, and at last marched against the city of the Oxydracæ, whither the greatest part were retired. Immediately he causes the scaling-ladders to be set up; and, as they were not nimble enough for Alexander, he forces one of the scaling-ladders from the soldier; runs up the first, covered with his shield, and gets to the top of the wall followed only by Peucestes and Limneus. The soldiers, believing him to be in danger, mounted swiftly to succour him; but the ladders breaking, the king was left alone. Alexander, seeing himself the butt against which all the darts were levelled, both from the towers and from the rampart, was so rash, rather than valiant, as to leap into the city, which was crowded with the enemy, having nothing to expect, but to be either taken or killed before it would be possible for him to rise, and without once having an opportunity to defend himself, or revenge his death. But happily for him, he poised his body in such a manner, that he fell upon his feet; and finding himself standing, sword in hand, he repulsed such as were nearest him, and even killed the general of the enemy, who advanced to run him through. Happily for him a second time, not far from thence there stood a great tree, against the trunk of which he leaned, his shield receiving all the darts that were shot at him from a distance; for no one dared to approach him, so great was the dread which the boldness of the enterprise, and the fire that shot from his eyes, had struck into the enemy. At last, an Indian let fly an arrow three feet long (that being the length of their arrows), which piercing his coat of mail, entered a considerable way into his body, a little above the right side.

ſide. So great a quantity of blood iſſued from the wound, that he dropped his arms, and lay as dead. Behold then this mighty conqueror *, this vanquiſher of nations; upon the point of loſing his life, not at the head of his armies, but in a corner of an obſcure city, into which his raſhneſs had thrown him. The Indian who had wounded Alexander, ran, in the greateſt tranſports of joy, to ſtrip him; however, Alexander no ſooner felt the hand of his enemy upon him, but, fired with the thirſt of revenge, he recalled his ſpirits; and laying hold of the Indian, as he had no arms, he plunged his dagger in his ſide. Some of his chief officers, as Peuceſtes, Leonatus, and Timæus, who had got to the top of the wall with ſome ſoldiers, came up that inſtant, and attempting impoſſibilities, for the ſake of ſaving their ſovereign's life, they form themſelves as a bulwark round his body, and ſuſtain the whole effort of the enemy. It was then that a mighty battle was fought round him. In the mean time the ſoldiers, who had climed up with the officers above mentioned, having broke the bolts of a little gate ſtanding between two towers, they by that means let in the Macedonians. Soon after the town was taken, and all the inhabitants were put to the ſword, without diſtinction of age or ſex.

The firſt care they took was to carry Alexander into his tent. Being got into it, the † ſurgeons cut off, ſo very dexterouſly, the wood of the ſhaft which had been ſhot into his body, that they did not move the ſteel point; and, after undreſſing him, they found it was a ‡ bearded arrow; and that it could not be pulled out, without danger, unleſs the wound were widened. The king bore the operation with incredible reſolution, ſo that there was no occaſion for people to hold him. The inciſion being made, and the arrow drawn out, ſo great an effuſion of blood iſſued, that the king fainted away. Every one thought him dead; but the blood being ſtopped, he recovered by degrees, and knew the perſons about him. All that day, and the whole night after, the army continued under arms round his tent; and would not ſtir from their poſts, till certain news was brought of his being better, and that he began to take a little reſt.

At the end of the ſeven days he had employed for his recovery, before his wound was cloſe, as he knew that the report of his death increaſed among the Barbarians, he cauſed two veſſels to be joined

* Plut. de fortun. Alex. p. 344.

† In theſe ages they and phyſicians were the ſame thing.

‡ So arrows are called that have beards at their points like fiſh-hooks.—Animadvertunt hamos ineſſe telo.

together,

together, and had his tent pitched in the middle, in ſight of every one; purpoſely to ſhow himſelf to thoſe who imagined him dead, and to ruin, by this means, all their projects, and the hopes with which they flattered themſelves. He afterwards went down the river, going before, at ſome diſtance from the reſt of the fleet, for fear leaſt the noiſe of the oars ſhould keep him from ſleep, which he very much wanted. When he was a little better, and able to go out, the ſoldiers, who were upon guard, brought him his litter, but he refuſed it, and, calling for his horſe, mounted him. At this ſight, all the ſhore and neighbouring foreſts echoed with the acclamations of the army, who imagined they ſaw him riſe, in a manner, from the grave. Being come near his tent, he alighted, and walked a little way, ſurrounded with a great number of ſoldiers, ſome of whom kiſſed his hands, whilſt others claſped his knees; others again were contented with only touching his clothes, and with ſeeing him; but all in general burſt into tears, and calling for a thouſand bleſſings from heaven, wiſhed him a long life, and an uninterrupted ſeries of proſperity.

At this inſtant deputies came from the Malli, with the chiefs of the Oxydracæ, being 160, beſides the governors of the cities and of the province, who brought him preſents, and paid him homage, pleading in excuſe for not having done it before, their ſtrong love of liberty. They declared, that they were ready to receive for their governor, whomſoever he pleaſed to nominate; that they would pay him tribute, and give him hoſtages. He demanded 1000 of the chief perſons of their nation, whom he alſo might make uſe of in war, till he had ſubjected all the country. They put into his hands ſuch of their countrymen as were handſomeſt and beſt ſhaped, with 500 chariots, though not demanded by him; at which the king was ſo much pleaſed, that he gave them back their hoſtages, and appointed Philip their governor.

Alexander, who was overjoyed at this embaſſy, and found his ſtrength increaſe daily, taſted with ſo much the greater pleaſure the fruits of both his victory and health, as he had like to have loſt them for ever. His chief courtiers and moſt intimate friends thought it a proper juncture, during this calm and ſerenity of his mind, for them to unboſom themſelves, and to expoſe their fears to him: It was Craterus ſpoke on this occaſion. "We "begin, royal Sir, to breathe and live, now we find you in the "condition to which the goodneſs of the gods has reſtored you. "But how great were our fears and our griefs! How ſeverely did "we reproach ourſelves, for having abandoned, in ſuch an extre-"mity, our king, our father! It was not in our power to follow "him;

" him; but this did not extenuate our guilt, and we look upon " ourfelves as criminals, in not having attempted impoſſibilities " for your ſake. But, Sir, never plunge us in ſuch deep affliction hereafter. Does a wretched paltry town deſerve to be " bought at ſo dear a price as the loſs of your life? Leave thoſe " petty exploits and enterpriſes to us, and preſerve your perſon for " ſuch occaſions only as are worthy of you. We ſtill ſhudder with " horror, when we reflect on what we ſo lately were ſpectators " of. We have ſeen the moment, when the moſt abject hands " upon earth were going to ſeize the greateſt prince in the univerſe, and deſpoil him of his royal robes. Permit us, Sir, to " ſay, you are not your own maſter, but that you owe yourſelf " to us: We have a right over your life, ſince ours depends on " it; and we dare take the freedom to conjure you, as being your " ſubjects and your children, to be more careful of ſo precious a " life, if not for your own ſake, at leaſt for ours, and for the felicity of the univerſe."

The king was ſtrongly touched with theſe teſtimonies of their affection, and having embraced them ſeverally with inexpreſſible tenderneſs, he anſwered as follows: " I cannot enough thank all " preſent, who are the flower of my citizens and friends, not only " for your having this day preferred my ſafety to your own, but " alſo for the ſtrong proof you have given me of your zeal and " affection, from the beginning of this war: And if any thing " is capable of making me wiſh for a longer life, it is the pleaſure " of enjoying, for years to come, ſuch valuable friends as you. " But give me leave to obſerve, that in ſome caſes we differ very " much in opinion. You wiſh to enjoy me long; and even, if it " were poſſible, for ever; but, as to myſelf, I compute the length " of my exiſtence, not by years, but by glory. I might have " confined my ambition within the narrow limits of Macedonia; " and, contented with the kingdom my anceſtors left me, have " waited, in the midſt of pleaſures and indolence, an inglorious " old age. I own, that if my victories, not my years, are com- " puted, I ſhall ſeem to have lived long; but can you imagine, " that after having made Europe and Aſia but one empire, after " having conquered the two nobleſt parts of the world, in the " tenth year of my reign and thirtieth of my age, that it will become me to ſtop in the midſt of ſo exalted a career, and diſcon- " tinue the purſuit of glory to which I have entirely devoted my- " ſelf? Know, that this glory ennobles all things, and gives a " true and ſolid grandeur to whatever appears inſignificant. In " what place ſoever I may fight, I ſhall fancy myſelf upon the " ſtage of the world, and in preſence of all mankind. I confeſs

" that

" that I have atchieved mighty things hitherto; but the country " we are now in reproaches me that a woman has done ſtill " greater. It is Semiramis I mean. How many nations did ſhe " conquer! How many cities were built by her! What magniſi- " cent and ſtupendous works did ſhe finiſh! How ſhameful is it " that I ſhould not yet have attained to ſo exalted a pitch of glo- " ry! Do but ſecond my ardour, and I ſhall ſoon ſurpaſs her. " Defend me only from ſecret cabals and domeſtic treaſons, by " which moſt princes loſe their lives, I take the reſt upon myſelf, " and will be anſwerable to you for all the events of the war."

This ſpeech gives us a perfect idea of Alexander's character. He had no notion of true glory. He did not know either the principle, the rule, or end of it. He certainly placed it where it was not. He was ſtrongly prejudiced in vulgar error, and cheriſhed it. He fancied himſelf born merely for glory; and that none could be acquired but by unbounded, unjuſt, and irregular conduct. In his impetuous ſallies after a miſtaken glory, he followed neither reaſon, virtue, nor humanity; and, as if his ambitious caprice ought to have been a rule and ſtandard to all other men, he was ſurpriſed that neither his officers nor ſoldiers would enter into his views, and lent themſelves very unwillingly to ſupport his ridiculous enterpriſes.

Alexander, after having ended his ſpeech, diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and continued encamped for ſeveral days in this place. He afterwards went upon the river, and his army marched after upon the banks. He then came among the Sabracæ, a powerful nation of Indians. Theſe had levied 60,000 foot and 6000 horſe, and reinforced them with 500 chariots; however, the arrival of Alexander ſpread a terror through the whole country, and accordingly they ſent ambaſſadors to make their ſubmiſſion. After having built another city, which he alſo called Alexandria, he arrived in the territories of Muſicanus, a very rich prince, and afterwards in thoſe of king Samus. At the ſiege of one of this king's towns, Ptolemy was dangerouſly wounded; for the Indians had poiſoned all their arrows and ſwords, ſo that the wounds they made were mortal. Alexander, who had the higheſt love and eſteem for Ptolemy, was very much afflicted, and cauſed him to be brought in his bed near him, that he himſelf might have an eye to his cure. He was his near relation, and, according to ſome writers, a natural ſon of Philip. Ptolemy was one of the braveſt men in the army, was highly eſteemed in war, and had greater talents for peace. He was averſe to luxury, vaſtly generous, eaſy of acceſs, and did not imitate the pomp which wealth and proſperity had made the reſt of the Macedonian noblemen aſſume: In a word,

it is hard to say, whether he was more esteemed by his sovereign or his country. We are told, there appeared to him in a dream a dragon, which presented him an herb, as an effectual remedy; and that upon his waking, he ordered it to be sent for; when laying it upon the wound, it was healed in a few days, to the universal joy of the army.

* The king, continuing his voyage, arrived at Patala, about the beginning of the dog-days, that is, about the end of July; so that the fleet was nine months at least from its setting out, till its arrival at that place. There the river Indus divides into two large arms, and forms an island, but much larger, like the Delta of the Nile; and hence the city above mentioned received its name, Patala, according to Arrian†, signifying, in the Indian tongue, the same as Delta in the Greek. Alexander caused a citadel to be built in Patala, as also an harbour and an arsenal for the shipping. This being done, he embarked on the right arm of the river, in order to sail as far as the ocean, exposing in this manner so many brave men to the mercy of a river with which they were wholly unacquainted. The only consolation they had in this rash enterprise, was, Alexander's uninterrupted success. When he had sailed 20 leagues‡, the pilots told him that they began to perceive the sea-air, and therefore believed that the ocean could not be far off. Upon this news, leaping for joy, he besought the sailors to row with all their strength, and told the soldiers, "That they at "last were come to the end of their toils, which they had so ear-"nestly desired; that now nothing could oppose their valour, nor "add to their glory; that without fighting any more, or spil-"ling of blood, they were masters of the universe; that their ex-"ploits had the same boundaries with nature; and that they would "be spectators of things, known only to the immortal gods."

Being come nearer the sea, a circumstance new and unheard of by the Macedonians, threw them into the utmost confusion, and exposed the fleet to the greatest danger; and this was the ebbing and flowing of the ocean. Forming a judgment of this vast sea from that of the Mediterranean, the only one they knew, and whose ebbings are imperceptible, they were very much astonished when they saw it rise to a great height, and overflow the country; and considered it as a mark of the anger of the gods, to punish their rashness. They were no less surprised and terrified, some hours after, when they saw the ebbing of the sea, which now withdrew as it had before advanced, leaving those lands uncovered it had so lately overflowed. The fleet was very much shattered,

* Strab. l. xv. p. 692. † Arrian. in Indic. p. 314. ‡ 400 furlongs.

and

and the ships being now upon dry land, the fields were covered with clothes, with broken oars and planks, as after a great storm.

At last Alexander, after having sailed full nine months in rivers, arrived at the ocean, where gazing with the utmost eagerness upon that vast expanse of waters, he imagined that this sight, worthy so great a conqueror as himself, greatly overpaid all the toils he had undergone, and the many thousand men he had lost, to arrive at it. He then offered sacrifices to the gods, and particularly to Neptune; threw into the sea the bulls he had slaughtered, and a great number of golden cups; and besought the gods not to suffer any mortal after him to exceed the bounds of his expedition. Finding that he had extended his conquests to the extremities of the earth on that side, he imagined he had completed his mighty design; and highly delighted with himself, he returned to rejoin the rest of his fleet and army, which waited for him at Patala, and in the neighbourhood of it.

## SECTION XVII.

### ALEXANDER IS GRIEVOUSLY DISTRESSED BY FAMINE.—HE MARRIES STATIRA, THE DAUGHTER OF DARIUS.

ALEXANDER *, being returned to Patala, prepared all things for the departure of his fleet. He appointed Nearchus admiral of it, who was the only officer that had the courage to accept of this commission, which was a very hazardous one, because they were to sail over a sea entirely unknown to them. The king was very much pleased at his accepting of it; and, after testifying his acknowledgment upon that account in the most obliging terms, he commanded him to take the best ships in the fleet, and to go and sound the sea-coast extending from the Indus to the bottom of the Persian Gulf: and, after having given these orders, he set out by land for Babylon.

† Nearchus did not leave the Indus at the same time with Alexander. It was not yet the season proper for sailing. It was summer, when the southern sea-winds rise; and the season of the north-winds, which blow in winter, was not yet come. He therefore did not set sail till about the end of September, which was too soon; and accordingly he was incommoded by winds some days after his departure, and obliged to shelter himself for 24 days.

We are obliged for these particulars to Arrian, who has given

* Arrian. in Indic. p. 334. † Ibid. p. 335.

us an exact journal of this voyage, copied from that of Nearchus the admiral.

Alexander, after having left Patala, marched through the country of the Oritæ, the capital whereof was called Ora, or Rhambacis. Here he was in such want of provisions, that he lost a great number of soldiers, and brought back from India scarce the fourth part of his army, which had consisted of 120,000 foot, and 15,000 horse. Sickness, bad food, and the excessive heats, had swept them away in multitudes; but famine made a still greater havoc among the troops in this barren country, which was neither ploughed nor sowed; its inhabitants being savages, who fared very hard, and led a most uncomfortable life. After they had ate all the palm-tree roots that could be met with, they were obliged to feed upon the beasts of burden, and next upon their war-horses; and when they had no beasts left to carry their baggage, they were forced to burn those rich spoils, for the sake of which the Macedonians had ran to the extremities of the earth. The plague, a disease which generally accompanies famine, completed the calamity of the soldiers, and destroyed great numbers of them.

After marching 60 days, Alexander arrived on the confines of Gedrosia, where he found plenty of all things: for the soil was not only very fruitful, but the kings and great men, who lay nearest that country, sent him all kinds of provisions. He continued some time here, in order to refresh his army. The governors of India having sent, by his order, a great number of horses, and all kinds of beasts of burden, from the several kingdoms subject to him, he remounted his troops; equipped those who had lost every thing; and soon after presented all of them with arms, as beautiful as those they had before, which it was very easy for him to do, as they were upon the confines of Persia, at that time in peace, and in a very flourishing condition.

He arrived in Carmania, now called Kerman, and went through it, not with the air and equipage of a warrior and a conqueror, but in a kind of masquerade, and Bacchanalian festivity; committing the most riotous and extravagant actions. He was drawn by eight horses, himself being seated on a magnificent chariot, above which a scaffold was raised, in the form of a square stage, where he passed the days and nights in feasts and carousing. This chariot was preceded and followed by an infinite number of others, some of which, in the shape of tents, were covered with rich carpets, and purple coverlets; and others, shaped like cradles, were overshadowed with branches of trees. On the sides of the roads, and at the doors of houses, a great number of casks ready broached

broached were placed, whence the ſoldiers drew wine in large flaggons, cups, and goblets, prepared for that purpoſe.

The whole country echoed with the ſound of inſtruments, and the howling of the Bacchanals, who, with their hair diſhevelled, and like ſo many frantic creatures, ran up and down, abandoning themſelves to every kind of licentiouſneſs. All this he did in imitation of the triumph of Bacchus, who, as we are told, croſſed all Aſia in this equipage, after he had conquered India. This riotous diſſolute march laſted ſeven days, during all which time the army was never ſober. It was very happy, ſays Quintus Curtius, for them, that the conquered nations did not think of attacking them in this condition; for a thouſand reſolute men, well armed, might with great eaſe have defeated theſe conquerors of the world, whilſt thus plunged in wine and exceſs.

* Nearchus ſtill keeping along the ſea-coaſt, from the mouth of the Indus, came at laſt into the Perſian Gulf, and arrived at the iſland of Harmuſia, now called Ormus. He there was informed, that Alexander was not above five days journey from him. Having left the fleet in a ſecure place, he went to meet Alexander, accompanied only by four perſons. The king was very anxious about his fleet. When news was brought him that Nearchus was arrived almoſt alone, he imagined that it had been entirely deſtroyed, and that Nearchus had been ſo very happy as to eſcape from the general defeat. His arrival confirmed him ſtill more in this opinion, when he beheld a company of pale, lean creatures, whoſe countenances were ſo much changed, that it was ſcarce poſſible to know them again. Taking Nearchus aſide, he told him, that he was overjoyed at his return, but at the ſame time was inconſolable for the loſs of his fleet. "Your fleet, royal "Sir," cried he immediately, "thanks to the gods, is not loſt:" Upon which he related the condition in which he had left it. Alexander could not refrain from tears, and confeſſed, that this happy news gave him greater pleaſure than the conqueſt of all Aſia. He heard, with uncommon delight, the account Nearchus gave of his voyage, and the diſcoveries he had made; and bid him return back, and go quite up the Euphrates as far as Babylon, purſuant to the firſt orders he had given him.

In Carmania, many complaints were made to Alexander, concerning governors and other officers, who had grievouſly oppreſſed the people of various provinces during his abſence; for, fully perſuaded he would never return, they had exerciſed every ſpecies of rapine, tyranny, cruelty, and oppreſſion. But Alexander,

* Arrian. in Indic. p. 341—352.

ſtrongly affected with their grievances, and pierced to the very ſoul with their juſt complaints, put to death as many as were found guilty of mal-adminiſtration, and with them 600 ſoldiers, who had been the inſtruments of their exactions and other crimes. He even afterwards treated with the ſame ſeverity, all ſuch of his officers as were convicted of the like guilt, ſo that his government was beloved by all the conquered nations. He was of opinion, that a prince owes theſe examples of ſeverity to his equity, which ought to check every kind of irregularity; to his glory, to prove he does not connive or ſhare in the injuſtice committed in his name; to the conſolation of his ſubjects, whom he ſupplies with a vengeance themſelves ought never to exerciſe; in fine, to the ſafety of his dominions, which, by ſo equitable an adminiſtration, is ſecured from many dangers, and very often from inſurrections. It is a great unhappineſs to a kingdom, when every part of it reſounds with exactions, vexations, oppreſſions, and corruption, and not ſo much as a ſingle man is puniſhed, as a terror to the reſt; and that the whole weight of the public authority falls only upon the people, and never on thoſe who ruin them.

The great pleaſure Alexander took, in the account which Nearchus gave him of his ſucceſsful voyage, made that prince have a great inclination to go upon the ocean. He propoſed no leſs than to ſail, from the Perſian Gulf, round Arabia and Africa, and to return into the Mediterranean by the Straits of Gibraltar, called at that time Hercules's Pillars; a voyage which had been ſeveral times attempted, and once performed by order of a king of Egypt, called Nechao, as I have obſerved elſewhere. It was afterwards his deſign, when he ſhould have humbled the pride of Carthage, againſt which he was greatly exaſperated, to croſs into Spain, called by the Greeks Iberia, from the river Iberus: he next was to go over the Alps, and coaſt along Italy, where he would have had but a ſhort paſſage into Epirus, and from thence into Macedonia. For this purpoſe, he ſent orders to the viceroys of Meſopotamia and Syria, to build in ſeveral parts of the Euphrates, and particularly at Thapſacus, ſhips ſufficient for that enterpriſe; and he cauſed to be felled, on mount Libanus, a great number of trees, which were to be carried into the above-mentioned city. But this project, as well as a great many more which he meditated, were all defeated by his early death.

Continuing his march, he went to Paſſagardæ, a city of Perſia. Orſines was governor of the country, and the greateſt nobleman in it. He was deſcended from Cyrus; and, beſides the wealth he inherited from his anceſtors, he himſelf had amaſſed great treaſures, having, for many years, ruled a large country. He had

had done the king a signal piece of service. The person, who governed the provinces during Alexander's expedition into India, happened to die; when Orsines observing, that, for want of a governor, all things were running to confusion, took the administration upon himself, composed matters very happily, and preserved them in the utmost tranquillity till Alexander's arrival. He went to meet him, with presents of all kinds for himself, as well as his officers. These consisted of a great number of fine managed horses, chariots enriched with gold and silver, precious moveables, jewels, gold vases of prodigious weight, purple robes, and 4000 talents of silver in specie*. However, this generous magnificence proved fatal to him; for he presented such gifts to the principal grandees of the court as infinitely exceeded their expectations, but gave nothing to the eunuch Bagoas, the king's favourite; and this not through forgetfulness, but out of contempt. Some persons telling him how much the king loved Bagoas, he answered, "I honour the king's friends, but not an infamous eunuch." These words being told Bagoas, he employed all his credit to ruin a prince descended from the noblest blood in the east, and irreproachable in his conduct. He even bribed some of Orsines's attendants, giving them instructions how to impeach him at a proper season; and in the mean time, whenever he was alone with the king, he filled his mind with suspicions and distrust, letting drop ambiguous expressions of that nobleman, as if by chance, and dissembling very artfully the motives of his discontent. Nevertheless, the king suspended his judgment for the present, but discovered less esteem than before for Orsines, who knew nothing of what was plotting against him, so secretly was the affair carried on; and the eunuch, in his private discourses with Alexander, was perpetually charging him either with exactions or treason.

The great danger to which princes are exposed, is the suffering themselves to be prejudiced and over-reached in this manner by their favourites; a danger so common, that St. Bernard, writing to Pope Eugenius, assures him†, that if he were exempted from this weakness, he may boast himself to be the only man in the world that is so. What is here spoken of princes, is applicable to all who represent them. Great men generally listen with pleasure to the slanderer; and for this reason, because he generally puts on the mask of affection and zeal, which sooths their pride. Slander always makes some impression on the most equitable minds, and leaves behind it such dark and gloomy traces, as raise suspicions,

* About L.600,000.

† De Consider. l. ii. c. 14.

jealousies,

jealouſies, and diſtruſts. The artful ſlanderer is bold and indefatigable, becauſe he is ſure to eſcape unpuniſhed, and is ſenſible that he runs but very little danger in greatly prejudicing others. With regard to the great, they ſeldom inquire into ſecret calumnies, either from indolence, giddineſs, or ſhame to appear ſuſpicious, fearful, or diffident; in a word, from their unwillingneſs to own that they were impoſed upon, and had abandoned themſelves to a raſh credulity. In this manner, the moſt unſullied virtue, and the moſt irreproachable fidelity, are frequently brought to inevitable ruin.

Of this we have a ſad example on the preſent occaſion. Bagoas, after having taken his meaſures at a diſtance, at laſt gave birth to his dark deſign. Alexander, having cauſed the monument of Cyrus to be opened, in order to perform funeral honours to the aſhes of that great prince, found nothing in it, but an old rotten ſhield, two Scythian bows, and a ſcimitar; whereas he hoped to find it full of gold and ſilver, as the Perſians had reported. The king laid a golden crown on his urn, and covered it with his cloak; vaſtly ſurpriſed that ſo powerful and renowned a prince had not been buried with greater pomp than a private man. Bagoas, thinking this a proper time for him to ſpeak, "Are we "to wonder," ſays he, "to find the tombs of kings ſo empty, "ſince the houſes of the governors of provinces are filled with the "gold of which they have deprived them! I, indeed, had never "ſeen this monument: but I have heard Darius ſay, that im"menſe treaſures were buried in it. Hence flowed the unbound"ed liberality and profuſion of Orſines, who, by beſtowing what "he could not keep, without ruining himſelf, thought to make a "merit of this in your ſight." This charge was without the leaſt foundation; and yet the Magi, who guarded the ſepulchre, were put to the torture, but all to no purpoſe; and nothing was diſcovered relating to the pretended theft. Their ſilence on this occaſion ought naturally to have cleared Orſines; but the artful, inſinuating diſcourſes of Bagoas, had made a deep impreſſion on Alexander's mind, and by that means given calumny an eaſy acceſs to it. The accuſers, whom Bagoas had ſuborned, having made choice of a favourable moment, came and impeached Orſines, and charged him with the commiſſion of ſeveral odious crimes, and, amongſt the reſt, with ſtealing the treaſures of the monument. At this charge, the matter appeared no longer doubtful, and the indications were thought ſufficient; ſo that this prince was loaded with chains before he ſo much as ſuſpected that any accuſation had been brought againſt him; and was put to death, without being ſo much as heard, or confronted with his accuſers.

accuſers. Too unhappy fate of kings, who do not hear and examine things in perſon, and who ſtill continue infatuated, notwithſtanding the numberleſs examples they read in hiſtory of princes who have been betrayed in like manner!

I have already ſaid, that there had followed the king an Indian called Calanus, reputed the wiſeſt man of his country, who, though he profeſſed the practice of the moſt ſevere philoſophy, had however been perſuaded, in his extreme old age, to attend upon the court. * This man having lived 83 years, without having been ever afflicted with ſickneſs; and having a ſevere fit of the cholic, upon his arrival at Paſſagardæ, he reſolved to put himſelf to death. Reſolutely determined not to let the perfect health he had always enjoyed be impaired by lingering pains, and being alſo aſſured of falling into the hands of phyſicians, and of being tortured with loads of medicine, he beſought the king to order the erecting of a funeral pile for him; and deſired, that after he had aſcended it, fire might be ſet to it. Alexander imagined Calanus might eaſily be diſſuaded from ſo dreadful a deſign; but finding, in ſpite of all the arguments he could uſe, that Calanus was ſtill inflexible, he at laſt was obliged to acquieſce with it. Calanus then rode on horſe-back to the foot of the funeral pile; offered up his prayers to the gods; cauſed libations to be performed upon himſelf, and the reſt of the ceremonies to be obſerved which are practiſed at funerals; cut off a tuft of his hair, in imitation of victims: embraced ſuch of his friends as were preſent; entreated them to be merry that day, to feaſt and carouſe with Alexander; aſſuring them at the ſame time, that they would ſoon ſee that prince in Babylon. After ſaying theſe words, he aſcended, with the utmoſt cheerfulneſs, the funeral pile, laid himſelf down upon it, and covered his face; and, when the flame catched him, he did not make the leaſt motion; but, with a patience and conſtancy that ſurpriſed the whole army, continued in the poſture in which he at firſt had laid himſelf; and completed his ſacrifice, by dying purſuant to the cuſtom practiſed by the ſages of his country.

† The hiſtorian informs us, that people differed very much in opinion with reſpect to this action. Some condemned it, as ſuiting only a frantic, ſenſeleſs wretch; others imagined, he was prompted to it out of vain-glory, merely for the ſake of being gazed at, and to paſs for a miracle in conſtancy (and theſe were not miſtaken); in fine, others applauded this falſe heroiſm,

* Arrian. l. vii. p. 276. Diod. l. vii. p. 573, 574. Plut. in Alex. p. 703.
† Diod.

which

which had enabled him to triumph in this manner over ſorrow and death.

Alexander, being returned into his tent, after this dreadful ceremony, invited ſeveral of his friends and general officers to ſupper; and in compliance with Calanus's requeſt, and to do him honour, he propoſed a crown, as a reward for him who ſhould quaff moſt. He who conquered on this occaſion was Promachus, who ſwallowed four meaſures of wine, that is, 18 or 20 pints. After receiving the prize, which was a crown worth a * talent, he ſurvived his victory but three days. Of theſe gueſts, 41 died of their intemperance: a ſcene, worthy of cloſing that which Calamus had a little before exhibited!

† From Paſſagardæ, Alexander came to Perſepolis; and, ſurveying the remains of the conflagration, was exaſperated againſt himſelf for his folly in ſetting it on fire. From hence he advanced towards Suſa. Nearchus, in compliance with his orders, had begun to ſail up the Euphrates with his fleet; but, upon advice that Alexander was going to Suſa, he came down again to the mouth of the Paſi-Tigris, and ſailed up this river to a bridge where Alexander was to paſs it. Then the naval and land armies joined. The king offered to his gods ſacrifices, by way of thanks for his happy return, and great rejoicings were made in the camp. Nearchus received the honours due to him, for the care he had taken of the fleet; and for having conducted it ſo far ſafe, through numberleſs dangers.

Alexander found in Suſa all the captives of quality he had left there. He married Statira, Darius's eldeſt daughter, and gave the youngeſt to his dear Hephæſtion; and in order that, by making theſe marriages more common, his own might not be cenſured, he perſuaded the greateſt noblemen in his court, and his principal favourites, to imitate him. Accordingly they choſe from amongſt the nobleſt families of Perſia, about 80 young maidens, whom they married. His deſign was, by theſe alliances, to cement ſo ſtrongly the union of the two nations, that they ſhould thenceforward form but one, under his empire. The nuptials were ſolemnized after the Perſian manner. He likewiſe feaſted all the reſt of the Macedonians who had married before in that country. It is related that there were 9000 gueſts at this feaſt, and that he gave each of them a golden cup for the libations.

Not ſatisfied with this bounty, he would alſo pay his ſoldiers' debts. But finding that ſeveral would not declare the ſum they owed, for fear of its being an artifice merely to diſcover thoſe

* 1000 crowns. † Arrian. de Indic. p 357, 358.

among

among them who were too lavish of their money, he appointed, in his camp, officers, where all debts were paid, without asking the name either of debtor or creditor. His liberality was very great on this occasion, and gave prodigious satisfaction; we are told that it amounted to near 10,000 talents*; but his indulgence, in permitting every person to conceal his name, was a still more agreeable circumstance. He reproached the soldiers, for seeming to suspect the truth of his promise, and said to them, "† That a king ought never to forfeit his word with his subjects; "nor his subjects suspect that he could be guilty of so shameful a "prevarication." A truly royal maxim, as it forms the security of a people, and the most solid glory of a prince; which, at the same time, may be renounced for ever, by the violation of a single promise; which, in affairs of government, is the most fatal of all errors.

And now there arrived at Susa 30,000 Persian young men, mostly of the same age, and called Epigones, that is, successors; as coming to relieve the old soldiers in their duty and long fatigues. Such only had been made choice of, as were the strongest and best shaped in all Persia, and had been sent to the governors of such cities as were either founded or conquered by Alexander. These had instructed them in military discipline, and in all things relating to the science of war. They were all very neatly dressed, and armed after the Macedonian manner. These came and encamped before the city, where, drawing up in battle array, they were reviewed; and performed their exercises before the king, who was extremely well pleased, and very bountiful to them afterwards, at which the Macedonians took great umbrage. And indeed Alexander observing these were harassed and tired out with the length of the war, and often vented murmurs and complaints in the assemblies; he for that reason was desirous of training up those new forces, purposely to check the licentiousness of the veterans. It is dangerous to disgust a whole nation, and to favour foreigners too openly.

‡In the mean time Harpalus, whom Alexander, during his expedition into India, had appointed governor of Babylon, quitted his service. Flattering himself with the hopes that this prince would never return from his wars in that country, he had given a loose to all kinds of licentiousness, and consumed in his infamous

* About L.1,500,000.

† Οὐ γὰρ χρῆναι ἔτ' ἂν τὸν βασιλέα ἄλλό τι ἢ ἀληθεύειν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους, ἅτε τῶν ἀρχομένων τινὰ ἄλλο τι ἢ ἀληθεύειν δοκεῖν τὸν βασιλέα. Arrian.

‡ Plut. in Demosth. p. 857, 858.

revels

revels part of the wealth with which he had been intruſted. As ſoon as he was informed that Alexander, in his return from India, puniſhed very ſeverely ſuch of his lieutenants as had abuſed their power, he meditated how he might beſt ſecure himſelf; and for this purpoſe he amaſſed 5000 talents, that is, above L.750,000, aſſembled 6000 ſoldiers, withdrew into Attica, and landed at Athens. *Immediately all ſuch orators as made a trade of eloquence, ran to him in crowds, all ready to be corrupted by bribes, as they were before by hopes of them. Harpalus did not fail to diſtribute a ſmall part of his wealth among theſe orators, to win them over to his intereſt, but he offered Phocion 700 †talents, and even put his perſon under his protection, well knowing the prodigious authority he had over the people.

The fame of his probity, and particularly of his diſintereſtedneſs, had gained him this credit. Philip's deputies had offered him great ſums of money in that prince's name, and entreating him to accept them, if not for himſelf, at leaſt for his children, who were ſo poor, that it would be impoſſible for them to ſupport the glory of his name: "If they reſemble me," replied Phocion, "‡the little ſpot of ground, with the produce of which I have "hitherto lived, and which has raiſed me to the glory you men"tion, will be ſufficient to maintain them; if it will not, I do "not intend to leave them wealth, merely to foment and heighten "their luxury." §Alexander having likewiſe ſent him 100 ‖ talents, Phocion aſked thoſe who brought them, upon what deſign Alexander ſent him ſo great a ſum, and did not remit any to the reſt of the Athenians? "It is," replied they, "becauſe Alex"ander looks upon you as the only juſt and virtuous man." Says Phocion, "Let him ſuffer me ſtill to enjoy that character, and be "really what I am taken for."

The reader will ſuppoſe, that he did not give a more favourable reception to the perſons ſent by Harpalus. And indeed he ſpoke to them in very harſh terms, declaring, that he ſhould immediately take ſuch meaſures as would be very diſagreeable to the perſon on whoſe errand they came, in caſe he did not leave off bribing the city; ſo that Harpalus loſt all hopes from that quarter.

Demoſthenes did not at firſt ſhow more favour to Harpalus

* Plut. in Phoc. p. 751.

† 700,000 crowns.

‡ Si mei ſimiles erunt, idem hic, inquit, agellus illos alet, qui me ad hanc dignitatem preduxit: ſin diſſimiles ſunt futuri, nolo meis impenſis illorum ali augerique luxuriam. Cor. Nep. in Phoc. c. 1.

§ Plut. in Phoc. p. 749.

‖ 100,000 crowns.

He adviſed the Athenians to drive him out from their city, and not to involve it in a war, upon a very unjuſt occaſion, and at the ſame time without the leaſt neceſſity.

Some days after, Harpalus, as an inventory was taking of his goods, having obſerved that Demoſthenes took a particular pleaſure in viewing one of the king's cups of ſolid gold, and that he admired the faſhion, and the beauty of the workmanſhip, deſired him to take it in his hand, and tell him the weight of it. Demoſthenes taking the cup, was ſurpriſed at its heavineſs, and accordingly aſked how much it weighed? Harpalus anſwered with a ſmile, 20 * talents I believe; and that very evening ſent him that ſum with the cup: for ſo great was Harpalus's penetration, that he could diſcover by the air, and certain glances, the foible of a man ſtruck with the charms of gold. Demoſthenes could not reſiſt its power; but, overcome by this preſent, and being † no longer maſter of himſelf, he joined on a ſudden with Harpalus's party; and the very next morning, wrapping his neck well in woollen cloths, he went to the aſſembly. The people then ordered him to riſe and make a ſpeech, but he refuſed, making ſigns that he had loſt his voice; upon which ſome wags cried aloud, that their orator had been ſeized in the night, not with a ‡ſquinancy, but an argyrancy; thereby intimating, that Harpalus's money had ſuppreſſed his voice.

The people, being told next day of the gift which had been ſent to Demoſthenes, were highly exaſperated, and refuſed to hear his juſtification. Harpalus was thereupon expelled the city; and in order to diſcover the perſons who had taken bribes, the magiſtrates commanded a ſtrict ſearch to be made in all houſes, that of Caricles excepted, who, having married but a little before, was exempted from this injury, out of reſpect to his bride. The politeneſs ſhown on this occaſion does honour to Athens, and is not always exerciſed elſewhere.

Demoſthenes, to prove his innocence, propoſed a decree, by which the ſenate of the Areopagus was empowered to take cognizance of this matter. He was the firſt they tried, and fined

* 20,000 crowns.

† The expreſſion in the Greek is full of beauty and ſpirit. Plutarch compares the gold which had been accepted by Demoſthenes, to a garriſon of the enemy, which a governor had received into his city, and thereby diſpoſſeſſed himſelf of the command of it. Πλήρεις ὑπὸ τῆς δωρεοδοκίας, ὥσπερ παραδεδεγμένος φρουράν.

‡ It is impoſſible to tranſlate the agreeable play of the Greek words. Οὐχ ὑπὸ συνάγχης ἔφραξον, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἀργυραγχης εἰλῆφθαι νύκτωρ τὸν δημαγωγόν.

upon being convicted, 50 * talents, for the payment of which he was thrown into prison; however he found means to escape, and left his country. Demosthenes did not behave with resolution and magnanimity in his banishment, residing generally at Ægina or Trezena, and every time he cast his eyes on Attica, his face would be covered with tears; and he suffered such words to drop from him, as were unworthy a brave man; words which by no means correspond with his resolute and generous behaviour during his administration. Cicero was reproached with the same weakness in his exile, which shows that great men are not such at all times, and on all occasions.

†It were to be wished, for the honour of eloquence, that what Pausanias relates in justification of Demosthenes were true; and it is very probable it was so. According to this author, Harpalus, after flying from Athens, was seized by Philoxenes the Macedonian; and being racked, to extort from him the names of such Athenians as had been bribed by him, he did not once mention Demosthenes, whose name, had he been guilty, he would not have suppressed before Philoxenus, as that orator was his enemy.

Upon the first report of Harpalus's flying to Athens, Alexander, fully determined to go in person to punish Harpalus and the Athenians, had commanded a fleet to be equipped. But after news was brought that the people in their assembly had ordered him to depart their city, he laid aside all thoughts of returning into Europe.

Alexander, having still a curiosity to see the ocean, came down from Susa, upon the river Eulæus; and after having coasted the Persian Gulf to the mouth of the Tigris, he went up the river towards the army, which was encamped on the banks of it, near the city of Opis, under the command of Hephæstion.

Upon his arrival there, he published a declaration in the camp, by which all the Macedonians, who, by reason of their age, wounds, or any other infirmities, were unable to support any longer the fatigues of the service, were permitted to return into Greece; declaring, that his design was to discharge them, to be bountiful to them, and send them back to their native country in a safe and honourable manner. His intention was, in making this declaration, to oblige, and at the same time give them the strongest proof how greatly they were in his esteem. However, the very contrary happened: for being already disgusted upon some other

* 50,000 crowns.

† Pausan. l. ii. p. 148.

accounts,

accounts, especially by the visible preference which Alexander gave to the foreigners, they imagined, that his resolution was to make Asia the seat of his empire, and to disengage himself from the Macedonians; and that the only motive of his doing this was, that they might make room for the new troops he had levied in the conquered countries. This alone was sufficient to exasperate them to fury. Upon which, without observing the least order or discipline, or regarding the remonstrances of their officers, they went to the king with an air of insolence which they had never assumed till then, and with seditious cries unanimously demanded to be discharged; saying further, that since he despised the soldiers who had gained him all his victories, he and his father Ammon might carry on the war against whomsoever, and in what manner they pleased: but as for themselves, they were fully determined not to serve him any longer.

The king, no way surprised, and without once hesitating, jumps from his tribunal; causes the principal mutineers, whom he himself pointed out to his guards, to be immediately seized, and orders thirteen to be punished. This bold and vigorous action, which thunderstruck the Macedonians, suppressed their courage in an instant. Quite amazed and confounded, and scarce daring to look at one another, they stood with downcast eyes, and were so dispirited, and trembled so prodigiously, that they were unable either to speak or even to think. Seeing them in this condition, he reascended his tribunal, where, after repeating to them, with a severe countenance, and a menacing tone of voice, the numerous favours which Philip his father had bestowed upon them, and all the marks of kindness and friendship by which he himself had distinguished them, he concluded with these words: "You all desire a discharge; I grant it you. Go now, and publish to the "whole world, that you have left your prince to the mercy of the "nations he had conquered, who were more affectionate to him "than you." After speaking this, he returned suddenly into his tent; cashiers his old guard; appoints another in its place, all composed of Persian soldiers; shuts himself up for some days, and would not see any person all the time.

Had the Macedonians been sentenced to die, it could not have surprised them more than when news was brought them, that the king had confided the guard of his person to the Persians. They could suppress their grief no longer, so that nothing was heard but cries, groans, and lamentations. Soon after, they all run together to the king's tent, throw down their arms, confessing their guilt; acknowledging their fault with tears and sighs; declare that the loss of life will not be so griev-

ous as the loſs of honour; and proteſt that they will not leave the place till the king hath pardoned them. At laſt, Alexander could no longer reſiſt the tender proofs they gave of their ſorrow and repentance; ſo that when he himſelf, at his coming out of his tent, ſaw them in this dejected condition, he could not refrain from tears; and, after ſome gentle reproaches, which were ſoftened by an air of humanity and kindneſs, he declared ſo loud as to be heard by them all, that he reſtored them to his friendſhip. This was reſtoring them to life, as was manifeſt from their ſhouts.

He afterwards diſcharged ſuch Macedonians as were no longer able to carry arms, and ſent them back to their native country with rich preſents. He commanded, that at the exhibiting of the public games, they ſhould be allowed the chief places in the theatre, and there ſit with crowns on their heads; and gave orders, that the children of thoſe who had loſt their lives in his ſervice, ſhould receive, during their minority, the ſame pay which had been given their fathers. Such ſupport and honours granted to veterans, muſt neceſſarily ennoble, in a very conſpicuous manner, the military profeſſion! It is not poſſible for a government to enrich every ſoldier in particular; but it may animate and conſole him by marks of diſtinction, which inſpire a ſtronger ardour for war, more conſtancy in the ſervice, and nobler ſentiments and motives.

Alexander appointed Craterus commander of theſe ſoldiers, to whom he gave the government of Macedonia, Theſſaly, and Thrace, which Antipater had enjoyed; and the latter was commanded to bring the recruits inſtead of Craterus. The king had long ſince been quite tired with the complaints of his mother and Antipater, who could not agree. She charged Antipater of aſpiring at ſovereign power, and the latter complained of her violent and untractable diſpoſition; and had often declared in his letters, that ſhe did not behave in a manner ſuitable to her dignity. It was with ſome reluctance Antipater reſigned his government.

* From Opis, Alexander arrived at Ecbatana in Media, where, after having diſpatched the moſt urgent affairs of the kingdom, he again ſolemnized games and feſtivals. There had come to him from Greece, 3000 dancers, makers of machinery, and other perſons ſkilled in diverſions of this kind. It happened very unluckily, during the celebration of theſe feſtivals, that Hephæſtion died of a diſeaſe which he brought upon himſelf. Alexander abandoning himſelf to immoderate drinking, his whole court followed his example, and ſometimes ſpent whole days and nights in

* A. M. 3680. Ant. J. C. 324.

theſe

theſe exceſſes. In one of them Hephæſtion loſt his life. He was the moſt intimate friend the king had, the confident of all his ſecrets, and, to ſay all in a word, a ſecond ſelf. Craterus only ſeemed to diſpute this honour with him. A few words, which one day eſcaped that prince, ſhows the difference he made between theſe two courtiers. "Craterus," ſays he, "loves the king, "but Hephæſtion loves Alexander." This expreſſion ſignifies, if I miſtake not, that Hephæſtion had devoted himſelf in a tender and affectionate manner to the perſon of Alexander; but that Craterus loved him as a king, that is, was concerned for his reputation, and ſometimes was leſs obſequious to his will, than he was zealous for his glory and intereſt. An excellent character, but very uncommon.

Hephæſtion was as much beloved by all the courtiers, as by Alexander himſelf. Modeſt, even-tempered, beneficent; free from pride, avarice, and jealouſy; he never abuſed his credit, nor preferred himſelf to thoſe officers, whoſe merit made them neceſſary to his ſovereign. He was univerſally regretted; but his death threw Alexander into exceſſive ſorrow, to which he abandoned himſelf in ſuch a manner, as was unworthy ſo great a king. He ſeemed to receive no conſolation, but in the extraordinary funeral honours he paid to his friend at his arrival in Babylon, whither he commanded Perdiccas to carry his corpſe.

In order to remove, by buſineſs and employment, the melancholy ideas which the death of his favourite perpetually awakened in his mind, Alexander marched his army againſt the Coſſæi, a warlike nation inhabiting the mountains of Media, whom not one of the Perſian monarchs had ever been able to conquer. However, the king reduced them in forty days, afterwards paſſed the Tigris, and marched towards Babylon.

## SECTION XVIII.

ALEXANDER ENTERS BABYLON.—HIS DEATH.—HIS CORPSE CONVEYED TO THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER-AMMON.

ALEXANDER being arrived within a league and a half of Babylon*, the Chaldeans, who pretended to know futurity by the ſtars, deputed to him ſome of their old men, to acquaint him, that he would be in danger of his life, in caſe he entered that city; and were very urgent with him to go no farther. The Babyloniſh aſtrologers were held in ſuch great reputation, that this advice made a prodigious impreſſion on his mind, and filled him with

* Arrian. l. vii. p. 294—309. Q. Curt. l. x. c. 4—7. Plut. in Alex. p. 705—707.

confuſion

confuſion and dread. Upon this, after ſending ſeveral of the grandees of his court to Babylon, he himſelf went another way; and having marched about ten leagues, he ſtopped for ſome time in the place where he had encamped his army. The Greek philoſophers, being told the foundation of his fear and ſcruples, waited upon him; when ſetting in the ſtrongeſt light the principles of Anaxagoras, whoſe tenets they followed, they demonſtrated to him, in the ſtrongeſt manner, the vanity of aſtrology; and made him have ſo great a contempt for divination in general, and for that of the Chaldeans in particular, that he immediately marched towards Babylon with his whole army. * He knew that there were arrived in that city, ambaſſadors from all parts of the world, who waited for his coming; the whole earth echoing ſo much with the terror of his name, that the ſeveral nations came, with inexpreſſible ardour, to pay homage to Alexander, as to him who was to be their ſovereign. This view, which agreeably ſoothed the ſtrongeſt of all his paſſions, contributed very much to ſtifle every other reflection, and to make him careleſs of all advice that might be given him; ſo that he ſet forward with all poſſible diligence towards that great city, there to hold the ſtates-general, in a manner, of the world. After making a moſt magnificent entry, he gave audience to all the ambaſſadors, with the grandeur and dignity ſuitable to a great monarch, and, at the ſame time, with the affability and politeneſs of a prince who is deſirous of winning the affection of all. He loaded thoſe of Epidaurus with great preſents for the deity who preſides over their city as well as over health, but reproached him at the ſame time. "Æſcu-"lapius," ſays he, "has ſhowed me but very little indulgence, "in not preſerving the life of a friend, who was as dear to me as "myſelf." In private, he diſcovered a great friendſhip for ſuch of the deputies of Greece, as came to congratulate him on his victories, and his happy return; and he reſtored them all the ſtatues, and other curioſities, which Xerxes had carried out of Greece, that were found in Suſa, Babylon, Paſſagardæ, and other places. We are told, that among theſe were the ſtatues of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, and that they were brought back to Athens.

The ambaſſadors from Corinth having offered him in the name of the city, the freedom of it, he laughed at an offer which ſeemed altogether unworthy of one who had attained ſo exalted a pitch of grandeur and power. However, when Alexander was told that Corinth had granted this privilege to Hercules only,

* Diod. l. xvii. p. 577—583. Juſtin. l. xii. c. 13—16.

he

he accepted it with joy, and piqued himſelf upon treading in his ſteps, and reſembling him in all things. But, cries Seneca *, in what did this frantic young man, with whom ſucceſsful temerity paſſed for virtue, reſemble Hercules? The latter, free from all ſelf-intereſted views, travelled through the world, merely to ſerve the ſeveral nations he viſited, and to purge the earth of ſuch robbers as infeſted it: whereas Alexander, who is juſtly entitled the plunderer of nations, made his glory conſiſt in carrying deſolation into all places, and in rendering himſelf the terror of mankind.

At the ſame time he wrote a letter, which was to have been read publicly in the aſſembly of the Olympic games, whereby the ſeveral cities of Greece were commanded to permit all exiles to return into their native country, thoſe excepted who had committed ſacrilege, or any other crime deſerving death; and ordered Antipater to employ an armed force againſt ſuch cities as ſhould refuſe to obey. This letter was read in the aſſembly. But as for the Athenians and Ætolians, they did not think themſelves obliged to put orders in execution, which ſeemed to interfere with their liberty.

Alexander, after having diſpatched theſe affairs, finding himſelf now at leiſure, began to think of Hephæſtion's burial. This he ſolemnized with a magnificence, the like of which had never been ſeen. As he himſelf undertook the management of this funeral, he commanded all the neighbouring cities to contribute their utmoſt in exalting the pomp of it. He likewiſe ordered all the nations of Aſia to extinguiſh what the Perſians call the ſacred fire, till the ceremony of the interment ſhould be ended; which was conſidered as an ill omen, it being never practiſed in Perſia, except at the death of its monarchs. All the officers and courtiers, to pleaſe Alexander, cauſed images to be carved of that favourite, of gold, ivory, and other precious materials.

At the ſame time the king, having procured a great number of architects and ſkilful workmen, firſt cauſed near ſix furlongs of the wall of Babylon to be beat down; and having got together a great number of bricks, and levelled the ſpot deſigned for the funeral pile, he had a moſt magnificent monumental ſtructure erected over it.

This edifice was divided into 30 parts, in each whereof was raiſed an uniform building, the roof of which was covered with great planks of palm-tree wood. The whole formed a perfect ſquare, the circumference of which was adorned with extraordi-

* Senec. de Benef. l. i. c. 13.

nary

nary magnificence. Each side was a furlong, or 100 fathoms, in length. At the foot of it, and in the first row, were set 244 prows of ships gilded, on the buttresses*, or supporters, whereof the statues of two archers, four cubits high, with one knee on the ground, were fixed; and two other statues, in an upright posture, completely armed, bigger than the life, being five cubits in height. The spaces between the prows were spread and adorned with purple cloth. Over these prows was a colonnade of large flambeaux, the shafts of which were 15 cubits high, embellished with crowns of gold at the part where they are held. The flame of those flambeaux ending at the top, terminated towards eagles, which, with their heads turned downwards, and extended wings, served as capitals. Dragons fixed near, or upon the base, turned their heads upwards towards the eagles. Over this colonnade stood a third, in the base of which was represented, in relievo, a party hunting animals of every kind. On the superior order, that is the fourth, the combat of the Centaurs was represented in gold. Finally, on the fifth, golden figures, representing lions and bulls, were placed alternately. The whole edifice terminated with military trophies, after the Macedonian and barbarian fashion, as so many symbols of the victory of the former, and defeat of the latter. On the entablatures and roof were represented Syrens, the hollow bodies of which were filled, but in an imperceptible manner, with musicians, who sang mournful airs and dirges in honour of the deceased. This edifice was upwards of 130 cubits high, that is, above 195 feet.

The beauty of the design of this structure, the singularity and magnificence of the decorations, and the several ornaments of it, surpassed the most wonderful productions of fancy, and were all in an exquisite taste. Alexander had appointed to superintend the building of this edifice, Staticrates, a great architect, and admirably well skilled in mechanics, in all whose inventions and designs there appeared, not only prodigious magnificence and surprising boldness, but such a greatness as was scarce conceivable.

† It was this artist, who discoursing some time before with Alexander, had told him, that of all the mountains he knew, none would so well admit of being cut into the shape of a man, as mount Athos in Thrace: that, if he therefore pleased but to give orders, he would make this mountain the most durable of

* In Greek Ἐπωτίδες, or ears. These are two pieces of timber, which project to the right and the left of the prow.

† Plut. de fortun. Alex. serm. i. p. 335.

all

all ſtatues, and that which would lie moſt open to the view of the univerſe. In its left hand it would hold a city, conſiſting of 10,000 inhabitants; and from its right ſhould pour a great river, whoſe waters would diſcharge themſelves in the ſea. One would have thought that this project would have pleaſed Alexander, who ſought for the great and marvellous in all things; nevertheleſs, he rejected it, and wiſely anſwered, that it was enough there was one prince whoſe folly mount Athos would eternize. This was meant of Xerxes, who having endeavoured to cut through the iſthmus of that mountain, wrote * a letter to it in the moſt proud and ſenſeleſs terms. "With regard to myſelf," ſays Alexander, "mount Caucaſus, the river Tanais †, the Caſpian Sea, "all which I paſſed in triumph, ſhall be my monument."

The expence of the ſplendid monument which this prince erected in honour of Hephæſtion, with that of the funeral, amounted to upwards of 12,000 talents, that is, more than L.1,800,000. But, what man was ever ſo ridiculouſly and extravagantly profuſe? All this gold, all this ſilver, was no other than the blood of nations, and the ſubſtance of provinces, which were thus ſacrificed to a vain oſtentation!

To crown the affection which Alexander had for his deceaſed friend, ſomething was ſtill wanting to the honours he paid him, to raiſe them above human nature; and this was what he propoſed, and for that purpoſe had ſent to the temple of Ammon a truſty perſon, named Philip, to enquire the will of the god. It doubtleſs was the echo of that of Alexander; and the anſwer was, that ſacrifices might be offered to Hephæſtion, as a demigod. Theſe were not ſpared in any manner; Alexander himſelf firſt ſetting the example, when he made a great feaſt, to which upwards of 10,000 perſons were invited. At the ſame time he wrote to Cleomenes, governor of Egypt, commanding him to build a temple to Hephæſtion in Alexandria, and another in the iſle of Pharos. In this letter, which is ſtill extant, to excite his diligence, and haſten the work, he grants the governor (who was deſpiſed univerſally for his injuſtice and rapine) a general pardon for all his crimes, paſt, preſent, and future; provided that, at his return, the temple and city ſhould be completed. And now nothing was ſeen but new altars, temples, and feſtivals; no oaths were adminiſtered but in the name of the new deity: to queſtion

* Proud Athos, who lifteſt thy head to heaven, be not ſo bold as to oppoſe to my workmen, ſuch rocks and ſtones as they cannot cut; otherwiſe, I will cut thee quite to pieces, and throw thee into the ſea. Plut. de ira cohib. p. 555.

† The Iaxarthes is here meant.

his

his divinity was a capital crime. An old officer, a friend of Hephæſtion, having bewailed him as dead, in paſſing before his tomb, had like to have been put to death for it; nor would he have been pardoned, had not Alexander been aſſured, that the officer wept, merely from ſome remains of tenderneſs, and not as doubting Hephæſtion's divinity. I cannot ſay, whether Alexander prevailed ſo far, as to make any one give credit to Hephæſtion's divinity; but he himſelf appeared, or at leaſt endeavoured to appear, firmly perſuaded of it; and gloried, not only that he had a god for his father, but that he himſelf could make gods. How ridiculous is all this!

During almoſt a year which Alexander continued in Babylon, he revolved a great many projects in his mind; ſuch as to go round Africa by ſea; to make a complete diſcovery of all the nations lying round the Caſpian Sea, and inhabiting its coaſts; to conquer Arabia, to make war with Carthage, and to ſubdue the reſt of Europe. The very thoughts of ſitting ſtill fatigued him, and the great vivacity of his imagination and ambition would never ſuffer him to be at reſt; nay, could he have conquered the whole world, he would have fought a new one, to ſatiate the avidity of his deſires.

The embelliſhing of Babylon alſo employed his thoughts very much. Finding it ſurpaſſed in extent, in conveniency, and in whatever can be wiſhed, either for the neceſſities or pleaſures of life, all the other cities of the eaſt, he reſolved to make it the ſeat of his empire; and for that purpoſe, was deſirous of adding to it all the conveniencies and ornaments poſſible.

This city, as well as the country round about it, had ſuffered prodigiouſly by the breaking of the bank or dike of the Euphrates, at the head of the canal called Pallacopa. The river running out of its uſual channel by this breach, overflowed the whole country; and forcing its way perpetually, the breach grew at laſt ſo wide, that it would have coſt almoſt as much to repair the bank as the raiſing of it had done at firſt. So little water was left in the channel of the Euphrates about Babylon, that there was ſcarce depth enough for ſmall boats, which conſequently was of great prejudice to the city.

Alexander undertook to remedy this; for which purpoſe he embarked upon the Euphrates, in order to take a view of the place. It was on this occaſion that he reproached, in a ludicrous, inſulting tone of voice, the Magi and Chaldeans, who accompanied him, for the vanity of their predictions; ſince, notwithſtanding the ill omens they had endeavoured to terrify him with, as if he had been a credulous woman, he however had entered

Babylon,

Babylon, and was returned from it very safe. Attentive to nothing but the subject of his voyage, he went and reviewed the breach, and gave the proper orders for repairing and restoring it to its former condition.

This design of Alexander merited the greatest applause. Such works are truly worthy great princes, and give immortal honour to their name, as not being the effect of a ridiculous vanity, but entirely calculated for the public good. By the execution of this project, he would have recovered a whole province which lay under water, and have made the river more navigable, and consequently of greater service to the Babylonians, by turning it all again into its channel as before.

This work, after having been carried on the length of 30 furlongs (a league and an half), was stopped by difficulties owing to the nature of the soil; and the death of this prince, which happened soon after, put an end to this project, and several others he had formed. A supreme cause, unknown to men, prevented its execution. The real obstacle to the success of it, was the curse which God had pronounced against this city; an anathema which no human power could divert or retard. "* I will cut off from "Babylon the name and remnant," had the Lord of hosts sworn above 300 years before: "I will also make it a possession for the "bittern, and pools of water: and I will sweep it with the besom "of destruction—† It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be "dwelt in from generation to generation—Neither shall the "shepherds make their fold there." Heaven and earth would sooner have passed away, than Alexander's design been put in execution. No river was now to flow by Babylon; the places round it were to be overflowed and changed into uninhabitable fens; it was to be rendered inaccessible by the prodigious quantities of mud and dirt; and the city, as well as the country about it, were to be covered with stagnated waters, which would make all access to it impracticable. ‡ Thus it now lies; and all things were to conspire to reduce it to this dejected state, in order that the prophecy might be completely fulfilled; "§ for the Lord of "hosts hath purposed, and who shall disannul it? And his hand "is stretched out, and who shall turn it back?" Nothing shows more evidently the strength and weight of this invincible curse, than the efforts of the most powerful prince that ever reigned; a prince the most obstinate that ever was, with regard to the

* Isa. c. xiv. 22, 23. † Ibid. c. xiii. 20.
‡ See what is said on this subject in the history of Cyrus.
§ Isa. c. xiv. 27.

carrying

carrying on his projects; a prince, of whose enterprises none had ever miscarried; and who failed in this only, though it did not seem so difficult as the rest.

Another design which Alexander meditated, and had most at heart, was the repairing the temple of Belus. Xerxes had demolished it in his return from Greece, and it had lain in ruins ever since. Now Alexander was resolved, not only to rebuild it, but even to raise a much more magnificent temple. Accordingly, he had caused all the rubbish to be removed; and finding that the Magi, to whose care he had left this, went on but slowly, he made his soldiers work. Notwithstanding 10,000 of them were daily employed at it, for two months successively, the work was not finished at the death of this prince, so prodigious were its ruins. * When it came to the turn of the Jewish soldiers, who were in his army, to work as the rest had done, they could not be prevailed upon to give their assistance; but excused themselves with saying, that as idolatry was forbid by the tenets of their religion, they therefore were not allowed to assist in building of a temple, designed for idolatrous worship; and accordingly not one lent a hand on this occasion. They were punished for disobedience, but all to no purpose; so that at last Alexander, admiring their perseverance, discharged, and sent them home. This delicate resolution of the Jews is a lesson to many Christians, as it teaches them, that they are not allowed to join or assist in the commission of an action that is contrary to the law of God.

One cannot forbear admiring the conduct of Providence on this occasion. God had broke to pieces by the hand of his servant Cyrus, the idol † Belus, the god who rivalled the Lord of Israel: he afterwards caused Xerxes to demolish his temple. These first blows which the Lord struck at Babylon, were so many omens of its total ruin; and it was as impossible for Alexander to complete the rebuilding of this temple, as for Julian, some centuries after, to restore that of Jerusalem.

Although Alexander employed himself in the works above mentioned, during his stay in Babylon, he spent the greatest part of his time in such pleasures as that city afforded; and one would conclude, that the chief aim, both of his occupations and diversions, was to stupify himself, and to drive from his mind the melancholy and afflicting ideas of an impending death, with which he was threatened by all the predictions of the Magi and other soothsayers: For though, in certain moments, he seemed not to

* Josephus contra Appian. l. i. c. 8.

† God gives him this name in Isaiah.

regard

regard the various notices which had been given him, he was however ſeriouſly affected with them inwardly; and theſe gloomy reflections were for ever returning to his mind. They terrified him at laſt to ſuch a degree, that whenever the moſt inſignificant thing happened, if ever ſo little extraordinary and unuſual, his imagination ſwelled it immediately to a prodigy, and interpreted it into an unhappy omen. The palace was now filled with ſacrifices, with perſons whoſe office was to perform expiations and purifications, and with others who pretended to propheſy. It was certainly a ſpectacle worthy a philoſophic eye, to ſee a prince, at whoſe nod the world trembled, abandoned to the ſtrongeſt terrors; ſo true is it, ſays Plutarch, that if the contempt of the gods, and the incredulity which prompts us neither to fear or believe any thing, be a great misfortune, the ſuperſtitious man, whoſe ſoul is a prey to the moſt abject fears, the moſt ridiculous follies, is equally unhappy. It is plain that God, by a juſt judgment, took a pleaſure in degrading, before all ages and nations, and in ſinking lower than the condition of the vulgar, the man who had affected to ſet himſelf above human nature, and equal himſelf to the Deity. This prince had ſought, in all his actions, that vain glory of conqueſts which men moſt admire, and to which they affix, more than to any thing elſe, the idea of grandeur: and God delivers him up to a ridiculous ſuperſtition, which virtuous men of good ſenſe and underſtanding deſpiſe moſt, and than which nothing can be more weak or groveling.

Alexander was therefore for ever ſolemnizing new feſtivals, and perpetually at new banquets, in which he quaffed with his uſual intemperance. After having ſpent a whole night in carouſing, a ſecond was propoſed to him. He met accordingly, and there were twenty gueſts at table. He drank to the health of every perſon in company, and then pledged them ſeverally. After this, calling for Hercules's cup, which held ſix bottles, it was filled, when he poured it all down, drinking to a Macedonian of the company, Proteas by name, and afterwards pledged him again, in the ſame furious bumper. He had no ſooner ſwallowed it, but he fell upon the floor. "Here then," cries Seneca*, deſcribing the fatal effects of drunkenneſs, "is this hero; invincible to all the toils of prodigious marches, to the dangers of "ſieges and combats, to the moſt violent extremes of heat and

* Alexandrum tot itinera, tot prælia, tot hiemes, per quas, victa temporum locorumque difficultate, tranſierat, tot flumina ex ignoto cadentia, tot maria tutum dimiſerunt; intemperantia bibendi, et ille Herculaneus ac fatalis ſcyphus condidit. Senec. epiſt. 83.

" cold; here he lies, conquered by his intemperance, and ſtruck " to the earth by the fatal cup of Hercules!"

In this condition he was ſeized with a violent fever, and carried half dead to his palace. The fever continued, though with ſome good intervals, in which he gave the neceſſary orders for the ſailing of the fleet, and the marching of his land-forces, being perſuaded he ſhould ſoon recover. But at laſt, finding himſelf paſt all hopes, and his voice beginning to fail, he drew his ring from his finger, and give it to Perdiccas, with orders to convey his corpſe to the temple of Ammon.

Notwithſtanding * his great weakneſs, he however ſtruggled with death, and raiſing himſelf upon his elbow, preſented his ſoldiers, to whom he could not refuſe this laſt teſtimony of friendſhip, his dying hand to kiſs. After this, his principal courtiers aſking to whom he left the empire, he anſwered, " To the moſt " worthy;" adding that he foreſaw the deciſion of this would give occaſion to ſtrange funeral games after his deceaſe. And Perdiccas enquiring further at what time they ſhould pay him divine honours, he replied, " When you are happy." Theſe were his laſt words, and ſoon after he expired. He was thirty-two years and eight months old, of which he had reigned twelve. He died in the middle of the ſpring, the firſt year of the 114th Olympiad.

†No one, ſay Plutarch and Arrian, ſuſpected then that Alexander had been poiſoned; and yet it is at this time that ſuch reports generally prevail. But the ſtate of his body proved that he did not die that way: for all his chief officers diſagreeing among themſelves, the corpſe, though it lay quite neglected for ſeveral days in Babylon, which ſtands in a hot climate, did not ſhow the leaſt ſymptoms of putrefaction. The true poiſon which brought him to his end was wine, which has killed many thouſands beſides Alexander. It was nevertheleſs believed afterwards, that this prince had been poiſoned by the treachery of Antipater's ſons: that Caſſander, the eldeſt of them, brought the ‡ poiſon from Greece; that Iolas, his younger brother, threw the fatal draught

* Quanquam violentia morbi dilabebatur, in cubitum tamen erectus, dextram omnibus, qui eam contingere vellent, porrexit. Quis autem illam oſculari non curreret, quæ jam fato oppreſſa, maximi exercitus complexui, humanitate quam ſpiritu vividiore, ſufficit? Val. Max. l. v. c. 1.

† A. M. 3683. Ant. J. C. 321.

‡ It is pretended that this poiſon was an extremely cold water, which diſtils drop by drop, from a rock in Arcadia, called Nonacris. Very little of it falls; and it is ſo vaſtly ſharp, that it corrodes whatever veſſel receives it, thoſe excepted which are made of a mule's hoof. We are told, that it was brought for this horrid purpoſe from Greece to Babylon, in a veſſel of the latter ſort.

into

into Alexander's cup, of which he was the bearer; and that he cunningly chose the time of the great feast mentioned before, in order that the prodigious quantity of wine he then drank might conceal the true cause of his death. The state of Antipater's affairs at that time gave some grounds for this suspicion. He was persuaded that he had been recalled with no other view than to ruin him, because of his mal-administration during his vice-royalty; and it was not altogether improbable that he commanded his sons to commit a crime, which would save his own life, by taking away that of his sovereign. An undoubted circumstance, is that he could never wash out this stain; and that, as long as he lived, the Macedonians detested him as a traitor who had poisoned their king. Aristotle was also suspected, but with no great foundation.

Whether Alexander lost his life by poison, or by excessive drinking, it is surprising to see the prediction of the Magi and soothsayers, with regard to his dying in Babylon, so exactly fulfilled. It is certain and indisputable, that God has reserved to himself only the knowledge of futurity; and if the soothsayers and oracles have sometimes foretold things which really came to pass, they could do it no other way than by their impious correspondence with devils, who, by their penetration and natural sagacity, find out several methods whereby they dive to a certain degree into futurity with regard to approaching events, and are enabled to make predictions, which, though they appear above the reach of human understanding, are yet not above that of malicious spirits of darkness. The knowledge* those evil spirits have of all the circumstances which precede and prepare an event; the part they frequently bear in it, by inspiring such of the wicked as are given up to them, with the thoughts and desire of doing certain actions, and commiting certain crimes; an inspiration to which they are sure those wicked persons will consent: By these things, devils are enabled to foresee and fortel certain particulars. They, indeed, often mistake in their conjectures, but † God also sometimes permits them to succeed in them, in order to punish the impiety of those, who, in contradiction to his commands, inquire their fate of such lying spirits.

* Dæmones perversis (solent) malefacta suadere, de quorum moribus certi sunt quod sint eis talia suadentibus consensuri. Suadent autem miris et invisibilibus modis. S. Aug. de Divinat. Dæmon. p. 509.

† Facile est et non incongruum, ut omnipotens et justus, ad eorum pœnam quibus ista prædicuntur—occulto apparatu ministeriorum suorum etiam spiritibus talibus aliquid divinationis impertiat. S. Aug. de Div. Quæst. ad Simplic. l. ii. Quæst. 3.

The moment that Alexander's death was known, the whole palace echoed with cries and groans. The vanquiſhed bewailed him with as many tears as the victors. The grief for his death occaſioning the remembrance of his many good qualities, all his faults were forgotten. The Perſians declared him to have been the moſt juſt, the kindeſt ſovereign that ever reigned over them; the Macedonians the beſt, the moſt valiant prince in the univerſe; and all exclaimed againſt the gods, for having enviouſly bereaved mankind of him, in the flower of his age, and the height of his fortune. The Macedonians imagined they ſaw Alexander, with a firm and intrepid air, ſtill lead them on to battle, beſiege cities, climb walls, and reward ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves. They then reproached themſelves for having refuſed him divine honours, and confeſſed they had been ungrateful and impious, for bereaving him of a name he ſo juſtly merited.

After paying him this homage of veneration and tears, they turned their whole thoughts and reflections on themſelves, and on the ſad condition to which they were reduced by Alexander's death. They conſidered, that they were on the farther ſide (with reſpect to Macedonia), of the Euphrates, without a leader to head them, and ſurrounded with enemies, who abhorred their new yoke. As the king died without nominating his ſucceſſor, a dreadful futurity preſented itſelf to their imagination, and exhibited nothing but diviſions, civil wars, and a fatal neceſſity of ſtill ſhedding their blood, and of opening their former wounds, not to conquer Aſia, but only to give a king to it, and to raiſe to the throne perhaps ſome mean officer or wicked wretch.

This great mourning was not confined merely to Babylon, but ſpread over all the provinces; and the news of it ſoon reached Darius's mother. One of her daughters was with her, who being ſtill inconſolable for the death of Hephæſtion her huſband, the ſight of the public calamity recalled all her private woes. But Syſigambis bewailed the ſeveral misfortunes of her family; and this new affliction awakened the remembrance of all its former ſufferings. One would have thought that Darius was but juſt dead, and that this unfortunate mother ſolemnized the funeral of two ſons at the ſame time. She wept the living no leſs than the dead: "Who now," would ſhe ſay, "will take care of "my two daughters? Where ſhall we find another Alexander?" She would fancy ſhe ſaw them again reduced to a ſtate of captivity, and that they had loſt their kingdom a ſecond time; but with this difference, that, now Alexander was gone, they had no refuge left. At laſt, ſhe ſunk under her grief. This princeſs, who had borne with patience the death of her father, her huſband,

eighty

eighty of her brothers, who were murdered in one day by Ochus, and, to say all in one word, that of Darius her son, and the ruin of her family; though she had, I say, submitted patiently to all these losses, she however had not strength of mind sufficient to support herself after the death of Alexander. She would not take any sustenance, and starved herself to death, to avoid her surviving this last calamity.

After Alexander's death great contentions arose among the Macedonians, about appointing him a successor, of which I shall give an account in its proper place. After seven days spent in confusion and disputes, it was agreed that Aridæus, bastard brother to Alexander, should be declared king; and that in case Roxana, who was eight months gone with child, should be delivered of a son, he should share the throne in conjunction with Aridæus, and that Perdiccas should have the care of both; for Aridæus was a weak man, and wanted a guardian as much as a child.

The Egyptians and Chaldeans having embalmed the king's corpse after their manner, Aridæus was appointed to convey it to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon. * Two whole years were employed in preparing for this magnificent funeral; which made Olympias bewail the fate of her son, who having had the ambition to rank himself among the gods, was so long deprived of burial, a privilege allowed to the meanest of mortals.

## SECTION XIX.

### THE JUDGMENT WE ARE TO FORM OF ALEXANDER.

The reader would not be satisfied, if, after having given a detail of Alexander's actions, I should not take notice of the judgment we are to form of them: especially as authors have entirely differed in their opinions, with regard to the merits of this prince. Some have applauded him with a kind of ecstacy, as the model of a perfect hero, which opinion seems to have prevailed; others, on the contrary, have represented him in such colours, as at least sully, if not quite eclipse, the splendor of his victories.

This diversity of sentiments denotes that of Alexander's qualities; and it must be confessed, that good and evil, virtues and vices, were never more equally blended, than in † the prince whose

* Ælian. l. xiii. c. 30.

† Luxuria, industria; comitate, arrogantia; malis bonisque artibus mixtus. Tacit.

hiſtory we have written. But this is not all; for Alexander appears very different, according to the times or ſeaſons in which we conſider him, as Livy has very juſtly obſerved. In the inquiry he makes concerning the fate of Alexander's arms, ſuppoſing he had turned them towards Italy, he * diſcovers in him a kind of double Alexander; the one wiſe, temperate, judicious, brave, intrepid, but at the ſame time prudent and circumſpect: the other immerſed in all the wantonneſs of an haughty proſperity; vain, proud, arrogant, fiery; ſoftened by delights, abandoned to intemperance and exceſſes; in a word, reſembling Darius rather than Alexander; and having made the Macedonians degenerate into all the vices of the Perſians, by the new turn of mind, and the new manners he aſſumed after his conqueſts.

I ſhall have an eye to this plan, in the account I am now to give of Alexander's character, and ſhall conſider it under two aſpects, and, in a manner, two eras; firſt, from his youth till the battle of Iſſus, and the ſiege of Tyre, which followed ſoon after; and ſecondly, from that victory to his death. The former will exhibit to us great qualities with few defects, according to the idea the heathens had of theſe; the ſecond will repreſent to us enormous vices; and, notwithſtanding the ſplendor of ſo many victories, very little true and ſolid merit, even with regard to warlike actions, a few battles excepted, in which he ſuſtained his reputation.

## PART FIRST.

We are firſt to acknowledge and admire, in Alexander, a happy diſpoſition, cultivated and improved by an excellent education. He had a great, noble, and generous ſoul. † He delighted in beſtowing and doing ſervice, qualities he had acquired in his infant years. A young lad, whoſe buſineſs it was to gather up and throw the balls when he played at tennis, to whom he had given nothing, taught him a good leſſon on that ſubject. As he always threw the ball to the other players, the king, with an angry air, cried out to him, "And am I then to have no ball?" "No, Sir," replied the lad, "yo do not aſk me for it." This witty and ready anſwer gave great ſatisfaction to the prince, who fell a laughing, and afterwards was very liberal to him. After

* Et loquimur de Alexandro nondum merſo ſecundis rebus, quarum nemo intolerantior fuit. Qui ſi ex habitu novæ fortunæ, novique, ut ita dicam, ingenii, quod ſibi victor induerat, ſpectetur. Dario magis ſimilis quam Alexandro in Italiam veniſſet, et exercitum Macedoniæ oblitum, degenerantemque jam in Perſarum mores adduxiſſet. Liv. l. ix. n. 18.

† Plut. in Alex. p. 687.

this,

this, there was no occaſion to excite him to acts of generoſity; for he would be quite angry with ſuch as refuſed them at his hands. Finding Phocion continue inflexible on this head, he told him by letter, "that he would no longer be his friend, in "caſe he refuſed to accept of his favours."

Alexander, as if he had been ſenſible of the mighty things to which he was born, endeavoured to ſhine on all occaſions, and appear more conſpicuous than any other perſon. No one was ever fired with ſo ſtrong a love for glory; and it is well known, that ambition, which is conſidered by Chriſtians as a great vice, was looked upon by the heatheus as a great virtue. It was that which made Alexander ſupport with courage all the toils and fatigues neceſſary for thoſe who would diſtinguiſh themſelves in the exerciſes both of body and mind. He was accuſtomed very early to a ſober, hard, plain way of life, uncorrupted with luxury or delicacy of any kind; a way of life highly advantageous to young ſoldiers.

I do not know whether any prince in the world had a nobler education than Alexander. He was very converſant in eloquence, poetry, polite learning, the whole circle of arts, and the moſt abſtracted and moſt ſublime ſciences. How happy was he in meeting with ſo great a preceptor! None but an Ariſtotle was fit for an Alexander. I am overjoyed to find the diſciple pay ſo illuſtrious a teſtimony in reſpect to his maſter, by declaring he was more indebted to him, in one ſenſe, than to his father. A man who thinks and ſpeaks in this manner muſt be fully ſenſible of the great advantages of a good education.

The effects of this were ſoon ſeen. Is it poſſible for us to admire too much the great ſolidity and judgment which this young prince diſcovered in his converſation with the Perſian ambaſſadors? His early wiſdom, whilſt, in his youth, he acted as regent during his father's abſence, and pacified the feuds which had broke out in Macedonia? His courage and bravery at the battle of Chæronea, in which he ſo gloriouſly diſtinguiſhed himſelf?

It is a pain to me, to ſee him wanting in reſpect to his father at a banquet, and employing ſevere, inſulting expreſſions on that occaſion. It is true, indeed, that the affront which Philip put upon Olympias, his mother, in divorcing her, tranſported him in a manner out of himſelf: but ſtill no pretence, no injuſtice, or violence, can either juſtify or excuſe ſuch uſage to a father and a king.

* He afterwards diſcovered more moderation, when, on occa-

* Plut. in Alex. p. 688.

ſion

fion of the infolent and ſeditious diſcourſes held by his ſoldiers in an inſurrection, he ſaid, "That nothing was more royal, than "for a man to hear with calmneſs himſelf ill ſpoken of, at the "time he is doing good." It has been obſerved, that the great prince of † Condé did not think any thing more worthy of admiration in this conqueror, than the noble haughtineſs with which he ſpoke to the rebellious ſoldiers, who refuſed to follow him: "Go," ſays he, "ungrateful, baſe wretches, and proclaim in "your country that you have abandoned your king among na-"tions who will obey him better than you." "Alexander," ſays that prince, "abandoned by his own troops among barba-"rians, who were not yet completely conquered, believes himſelf "ſo worthy of commanding over others, that he did not think "men could refuſe to obey him. Whether he were in Europe "or in Aſia, among Greeks or Perſians, it was the ſame to him. "He fancied, that wherever he found men, he found ſubjects." Alexander's patience and moderation, which I took notice of at firſt, are no leſs wonderful.

The firſt years of his reign are perhaps the moſt glorious of his life. That at 20 years of age, he was able to appeaſe the inteſtine feuds which raged in the kingdom; that he either cruſhed or ſubjected foreign enemies, and thoſe of the moſt formidable kind; that he diſarmed Greece, moſt of the nations whereof had united againſt him; and that in leſs than three years, he ſhould have enabled himſelf to execute ſecurely thoſe plans his father had ſo wiſely projected; all this ſuppoſes a preſence of mind, a ſtrength of ſoul, a courage, an intrepidity, and, what is more than all, a conſummate prudence; qualities which form the character of the true hero.

This character he ſupported in a wonderful manner, during the whole courſe of his expedition againſt Darius, till the time mentioned by us. * Plutarch very juſtly admires the bare plan of it, as the moſt heroic act that ever was. He formed it the very inſtant he aſcended the throne, looking upon this deſign, in ſome meaſure, as a part of what he inherited from his father. When ſcarce 20 years old, ſurrounded with dangers both within and without his kingdom, finding his treaſury drained and incumbered with debts, to the amount of 200 talents ‡, which his father had contracted; having an army which was greatly inferior in number to that of the Perſians: in this condition, Alex-

* St. Evremond.

† Plut. de fort. Alex. orat. p. 327.

‡ About L.30,000 ſterl.

ander

ander already turns his eyes towards Babylon and Susa, and proposes no less a conquest than that of so vast an empire.

Was this the effect of the pride and rashness of youth? asks Plutarch. Certainly not, replies that author. No man ever formed a warlike enterprise with so great preparations, and such mighty succours, by which I understand, continues Plutarch, magnanimity, prudence, temperance, and courage; preparations and aids, with which philosophy supplied him, and which he thoroughly studied; so that we may affirm, that he was as much indebted for his conquest to the lessons of Aristotle, his master, as to the instructions of Philip his father.

We may add, that, according to all the maxims of war, Alexander's enterprise must naturally be successful. Such an army as his, though not a very great one, consisting of Macedonians and Greeks, that is, of the best troops at that time in the world, and trained up to war during a long course of years, inured to toils and dangers, formed by a happy experience to all the exercises of sieges and battles, animated by the remembrance of their past victories, by the hopes of an immense booty, and more so, by their hereditary and irreconcileable hatred to the Persians; such an army, I say, headed by Alexander, was almost sure of conquering an army, composed, indeed, of infinite numbers of men, but of few soldiers.

The swiftness of the execution was answerable to the wisdom of the project. After having gained the affection of all his generals and officers by an unparalleled liberality, and of all his soldiers by an air of goodness, affability, and even familiarity, which, so far from debasing the majesty of a prince, adds to the respect which is paid him, such a zeal and tenderness as is proof against all things: after this, I say, the next thing to be done, was to astonish his enemies by bold enterprises, to terrify them by examples of severity, and lastly, to win them by acts of humanity and clemency. He succeeded wonderfully in these. The passage of the Granicus, followed by a famous victory; the two celebrated sieges of Miletus and Halicarnassus, showed Asia a young conqueror, to whom no part of military knowledge was unknown. The razing of the last city to the very foundations, spread an universal terror; but the allowing all those the enjoyment of their liberties and ancient laws who submitted cheerfully, made the world believe, that the conqueror had no other view than to make nations happy, and to procure them an easy and lasting peace.

His impatience to bathe himself, when covered with sweat, in the river Cydnus, might be looked upon as a gay, juvenile action, unworthy of his dignity; but we must not judge of it from the manners

manners of the preſent age. The ancients, all whoſe exerciſes were relative to thoſe of war, accuſtomed themſelves early to bathing and ſwimming. It is well known, that, in Rome, the ſons of the nobility, after having heated themſelves in the Campus Martius, with running, wreſtling, and hurling the javelin, uſed to plunge into the Tiber, which runs by that city. By theſe exerciſes they enabled themſelves to paſs rivers and lakes in an enemy's country; for thoſe are never croſſed, but after painful marches, and after having been long expoſed to the ſun-beams, which, with the weight of the ſoldiers arms, muſt neceſſarily make them ſweat. Hence we may apologize for Alexander's bathing himſelf in a river, which had like to have been ſo fatal to him, eſpecially as he might not know that the waters of it were ſo exceſſively cold.

The two battles of Iſſus and Arbela, with the ſiege of Tyre, one of the moſt famous of antiquity, entirely proved that Alexander poſſeſſed all the qualities which form the great ſoldier; as ſkill in making choice of a field of battle; ſuch a preſence of mind in the heat of action, as is neceſſary for the giving out proper orders; a courage and bravery, which the moſt evident dangers only animated; an impetuous activity, tempered and guided by ſuch a prudent reſervedneſs, as will not ſuffer the hero to be carried away by an indiſcreet ardour; laſtly, ſuch a reſolution and conſtancy, as is neither diſconcerted by unforeſeen obſtacles, nor diſcouraged by difficulties, though ſeemingly inſurmountable, and which know no other bounds or iſſue but victory.

Hiſtorians have obſerved a great * difference between Alexander and his father, in their manner of making war. Stratagem, and even knavery, were the prevailing arts of Philip, who always acted ſecretly, and in the dark; but his ſon purſued his ſchemes with more candour, and without diſguiſe. The one endeavoured to deceive his enemies by cunning, the other to ſubdue them by force of arms. The former diſcovered more art, the latter had a greater ſoul. † Philip did not look upon any methods, which conduce to conqueſt, as ignominious; but Alexander could never prevail with himſelf to employ treachery. He, indeed, endeavoured to draw over the ableſt of all Darius's generals; but then he employed honourable means. When he marched near Memnon's lands, he commanded his ſoldiers, upon the ſevereſt penal-

* Vincendi ratio utrique diverſa. Hic aperte, ille artibus bella tractabat. Deceptis ille gaudere hoſtibus, hic palam fuſis. Prudentior ille conſilio, hic animo magnificentior—Nulla apud Philippum turpis ratio vincendi. Juſtin. l. ix. c. 8.

† Pauſan. l. vii. p. 415.

ties,

ties, not to make the leaſt havoc in them. His deſign, by this conduct, was either to gain him over to his ſide, or to make the Perſians ſuſpect his fidelity. * Memnon alſo delighted in behaving with generoſity towards Alexander: and hearing a ſoldier ſpeak ill of that prince: "I did not take thee into my pay," ſays that general, ſtriking him with his javelin, "to ſpeak injuriouſly "of that prince, but to fight againſt him."

The circumſtance which raiſes Alexander above moſt conquerors, and, as it were, above himſelf, is the uſe he made of victory after the battle of Iſſus. This is the moſt beautiful incident in his life: is the point of ſight in which it is his intereſt to be conſidered, and it is impoſſible for him not to appear truly great in that view. By the victory of Iſſus, he had poſſeſſed himſelf, not only of Darius's perſon, but alſo of his empire. Not only Syſigambis, that king's mother, was his captive; but alſo his wife and daughters, princeſſes whoſe beauty was not to be paralleled in all Aſia. † Alexander was, in the bloom of his life, a conqueror, free, and not yet engaged in the bands of marriage, as an author obſerves of the firſt Scipio Africanus, on a like occaſion: nevertheleſs, his camp was to thoſe princeſſes a ſacred aſylum, or rather a temple, in which their chaſtity was ſecured, as under the guard of virtue itſelf, and ſo highly revered, that Darius, in his expiring moments, hearing the kind treatment they had met with, could not forbear liſting up his dying hands towards heaven, and wiſhing ſucceſs to ſo wiſe and generous a conqueror, who governed his paſſions ſo abſolutely.

In the enumeration of Alexander's good qualities, I muſt not omit one rarely found among the great, and which nevertheleſs does honour to human nature, and makes life happy: this is, his being formed with a ſoul capable of a tender friendſhip; his openneſs, truth, perſeverance, and humility, in ſo exalted a fortune, which generally conſiders itſelf only, makes its grandeur conſiſt in humbling all things around it, and is better pleaſed with ſervile wretches, than with free ſincere friends.

Alexander endeared himſelf to his officers and ſoldiers; treated them with the greateſt familiarity; admitted them to his table, his exerciſes, and converſations; was deeply troubled for them when involved in any calamity, grieved for them when ſick, rejoiced at their recovery, and ſhared in whatever befel them. We have examples of this in Hephæſtion, in Ptolemy, in Craterus,

* Plut. in Apoph. p. 174.

† Et juvenis, et cœlebs, et victor. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3.

and

and many others. A prince of real merit does no ways debaſe his dignity, by ſuch a familiarity and condeſcenſion; but, on the contrary, is more beloved and reſpected upon that very account. Every man of a tall ſtature does not ſcruple to put himſelf upon a level with the reſt of mankind, well knowing that he ſhall overtop them all. It is the intereſt of truly diminutive perſons only, not to vie in ſtature with the tall, nor to appear in a crowd.

Alexander was dear to others, becauſe they were ſenſible he was beforehand with them in affection. This circumſtance made the ſoldiers ſtrongly deſirous to pleaſe him, and fired them with intrepidity; hence they were always ready to execute all his orders, though attended with the greateſt difficulties and dangers: this made them ſubmit patiently to the ſevereſt hardſhips, and threw them into the deepeſt affliction, whenever they happened to give him any room for diſcontent.

In this picture which has been given of Alexander, what was wanting to complete his glory? Military virtue has been exhibited in its utmoſt ſplendor: goodneſs, clemency, moderation, and wiſdom, have crowned it, and added ſuch a luſtre, as greatly enhances its value. Let us ſuppoſe, that Alexander, to ſecure his glory and his victories, ſtops ſhort in his career; that he himſelf checks his ambition, and raiſes Darius to the throne, with the ſame hand that had diſpoſſeſſed him of it; makes Aſia Minor, inhabited chiefly by Greeks, free and independent of Perſia; that he declares himſelf protector of all the cities and ſtates of Greece, in no other view than to ſecure their liberties, and the enjoyment of their reſpective laws and cuſtoms; that he afterwards returns to Macedon, and there, contented with the lawful bounds of his empire, makes all his glory and delight conſiſt in rendering his people happy, in procuring it abundance of all things, in ſeeing the laws put in execution, and making juſtice flouriſh; in cauſing virtue to be had in honour, and endearing himſelf to his ſubjects: In fine, that now become, by the terror of his arms, and much more ſo by the fame of his virtues, the admiration of the whole world, he ſees himſelf, in ſome meaſure, the arbiter of all nations, and exerciſes, over the minds of men, ſuch an empire, as is infinitely more laſting and honourable than that which is founded on fear only: Suppoſing all this to have happened, Alexander would have been as great, as glorious, as good a prince as ever bleſſed mankind.

To the forming ſo great a character, a greatneſs of ſoul, and a moſt refined taſte for true glory, are required, ſuch as is ſeldom met

met with in hiſtory. Men generally do not * conſider, that the glory which attends the moſt ſhining conqueſts, is greatly inferior to the reputation of a prince, who has deſpiſed and trampled upon ambition, and known how to give bounds to univerſal power. But Alexander was far from poſſeſſing theſe happy qualities. His uninterrupted felicity, that never experienced adverſe fortune, intoxicated and changed him to ſuch a degree, that he no longer appeared the ſame man; and I do not remember that ever the poiſon of proſperity had a more ſudden or more forcible effect than upon him.

## PART SECOND.

From the ſiege of Tyre, which was ſoon after the battle of Iſſus, in which Alexander diſplayed all the courage and abilities of a great warrior, we ſee the virtues and noble qualities of this prince degenerate on a ſudden, and make way for the greateſt vices and moſt brutal paſſions. If we ſometimes, through the exceſſes to which he abandons himſelf, perceive ſome bright rays of humanity, gentleneſs, and moderation, theſe are the effects of a happy diſpoſition, which, not being quite extinguiſhed by vice, is however governed by it.

Was ever enterpriſe more wild and extravagant, than that of croſſing the ſandy deſerts of Lybia; of expoſing his army to the danger of periſhing with thirſt and fatigue; of interrupting the courſe of his victories, and giving his enemy time to raiſe a new army, merely for the ſake of marching ſo far, in order to get himſelf named the ſon of Jupiter-Ammon; and purchaſe, at ſo dear a rate, a title which could only render him contemptible?

† How mean was it in Alexander, to omit always in his letters, after Darius's defeat, the Greek word, which ſignifies Health‡, except in thoſe he wrote to Phocion and Antipater! As if this title, becauſe employed by other men, could have degraded a king, who is obliged by his office to procure, at leaſt to wiſh, all his ſubjects, the enjoyment of the felicity implied by that word.

Of all vices, none is ſo groveling, none ſo unworthy, not only of a prince, but of a man of honour, as drunkenneſs; its bare name is intolerable, and ſtrikes us with horror. How infamous a pleaſure is it, to ſpend whole days and nights in carouſing, to

* Scis ubi vera principis, ubi ſempiterna ſit gloria—Arcus, et ſtatuas, aras etiam templaque demolitur et obſcurat oblivio: contra, contemptor ambitionis, et infinitæ potentiæ domitor ac frænator animus ipſa vetuſtate floreſcit. Plin. in Pun. Trajan.

† Plut. in Phoc. p. 749. ‡ χαίρε.

continue theſe exceſſes for weeks together; to pride one's ſelf in exceeding other men in intemperance, and to endanger one's life in no other view than to gain ſuch a victory! Not to mention the infamous enormities that attend theſe debauches, how greatly ſhocking is it to hear the frantic diſcourſes of a ſon, who, being intoxicated with the fumes of wine, induſtriouſly ſtrives to defame his father, to ſully his glory, and, loſt to all ſhame, prefer himſelf to him! Drunkenneſs is only the occaſion, not the cauſe, of theſe exceſſes. It betrays the ſentiments of the heart, but does not place them there. Alexander, puffed up by his victories, greedy and inſatiable of praiſe, intoxicated with the mighty idea he entertained of his own merit, jealous of, and deſpiſing all mankind, has the power, in his ſober moments, to conceal his ſentiments; but no ſooner is he intoxicated, than he ſhows himſelf to be what he really is.

What ſhall we ſay of his barbarouſly murdering an old friend; who, though indiſcreet and raſh, was yet his friend? Of the death of the moſt honeſt man in all his court, whoſe only crime was his refuſing to pay him divine homage? Of the execution of two of his principal officers, who were condemned, though nothing could be proved againſt them, and on the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions?

I paſs over a great many other vices, which Alexander, according to moſt hiſtorians, gave into, and which are not to be juſtified. To ſpeak of him, therefore, only as a warrior and a conqueror—qualities in which he is generally conſidered, and which have gained him the eſteem of all ages and nations—all we now have to do, is, to examine whether this eſteem be ſo well grounded as is generally ſuppoſed.

I have already obſerved, that, to the battle of Iſſus and the ſiege of Tyre incluſively, it cannot be denied but that Alexander was a great warrior and an illuſtrious general. But yet I doubt very much, whether, during theſe firſt years of his exploits, he ought to be conſidered in a more conſpicuous light than his father; whoſe actions, though not ſo dazzling, are however as much applauded by good judges, and thoſe of the military profeſſion. Philip, at his acceſſion to the throne, found all things unſettled. He himſelf was obliged to lay the foundations of his own fortune, and was not ſupported by the leaſt foreign aſſiſtance. He raiſed himſelf to the power and grandeur to which he afterwards attained. He was obliged to train up, not only his ſoldiers, but his officers; to inſtruct them in all the military exerciſes; to inure them to the fatigues of war; and to his care and abilities Macedonia owed the riſe of the celebrated Phalanx, that is, of the

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beſt troops the world had then ever ſeen, and to which Alexander owed all his conqueſts. How many obſtacles ſtood in Philip's way, before he could poſſeſs himſelf of the power which Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, had ſucceſſively exerciſed over Greece! The Greeks, who were the braveſt and moſt ſagacious people in the univerſe, would not acknowledge him for their chief, till he acquired that title by wading through ſeas of blood, and by gaining numberleſs conqueſts over them. Thus we ſee, that the way was prepared for Alexander's executing his great deſign; the plan whereof, and the moſt excellent inſtructions relative to it, had been laid down to him by his father. Now, will it not appear a much eaſier taſk, to ſubdue Aſia with Grecian armies, than to ſubject the Greeks, who had ſo often triumphed over Aſia?

But, without carrying further the parallel of Alexander with Philip, which all who do not conſider heroes according to the number of provinces they have conquered, but by the intrinſic value of their actions, muſt give in favour of the latter: What judgment are we to form of Alexander, after his triumph over Darius? And is it poſſible to propoſe him, during the latter part of his life, as a model worthy the imitation of thoſe who aſpire to the character of great ſoldiers and illuſtrious conquerors?

In this enquiry, I ſhall begin with that which is unanimouſly agreed, by all the writers on this ſubject, to be the foundation of the ſolid glory of a hero; I mean, the juſtice of the war in which he engages, without which he is not a conqueror and a hero, but an uſurper and a robber. Alexander, in making Aſia the ſeat of war, and turning his arms againſt Darius, had a plauſible pretence for it; becauſe the Perſians had been in all ages, and were at that time profeſſed enemies to the Greeks, over whom he had been appointed generaliſſimo, and whoſe injuries he therefore might think himſelf juſtly entitled to revenge. But then, what right had Alexander over the great number of nations, who did not know even the name of Greece, and had never done him the leaſt injury? The Scythian ambaſſador ſpoke very judiciouſly, when he addreſſed him in theſe words: "What have we to do "with thee? We never once ſet our feet in thy country. Are "not thoſe who live in woods allowed to be ignorant of thee, and "the place from whence thou comeſt? Thou boaſteſt, that the "only deſign of thy marching, is to extirpate robbers: Thou thy"ſelf art the greateſt robber in the world." This is Alexander's exact character, in which there is nothing to be rejected.

A pirate ſpake to him to the ſame effect, and in ſtronger terms. Alexander aſked * him, what right he had to infeſt the ſeas? "The

* Eleganter et veraciter Alexandro illi Magno comprehenſus pirata reſpondit.

"The fame that thou haſt," replied the pirate with a generous liberty, "to infeſt the univerſe: But becauſe I do this in a ſmall "ſhip, I am called a robber; and becauſe thou acteſt the ſame "part with a great fleet, thou art entitled conqueror." This was a witty and juſt anſwer, ſays * St. Auſtin, who has preſerved this ſmall fragment of Cicero.

If therefore it ought to be laid down as a maxim (and no reaſonable man can doubt of its being ſo), that every war undertaken merely from the view of ambition, is unjuſt; and that the prince, who begins it, is guilty of all the ſad conſequences, and all the blood ſhed on that occaſion; what idea ought we to form of Alexander's laſt conqueſts? Was ever ambition more extravagant, or rather more furious, than that of this prince? Come † from a little ſpot of ground, and forgetting the narrow limits of his paternal domains, after he has far extended his conqueſts; has ſubdued, not only the Perſians, but alſo the Bactrians and Indians; has added kingdom to kingdom: after all this, I ſay, he ſtill finds himſelf pent up; and determined to force, if poſſible, the barriers of nature, he endeavours to diſcover a new world, and does not ſcruple to ſacrifice millions of men to his ambition or curioſity. It is related that ‡ Alexander, upon Anaxarchus the philoſopher's telling him that there was an infinite number of worlds, wept to think that it would be impoſſible for him to conquer them all, ſince he had not yet conquered one. Is it wrong in § Seneca, to compare thoſe heroes, who have gained renown no otherwiſe than by the ruin of nations, to a conflagration and a flood, which

pondit. Nam cum idem rex hominem interrogaſſet, quid ei videretur ut mare haberet infeſtum; ille, libera contumacia: Quid tibi, inquit, ut orbem terrarum. Sed quia id ego exiguo navigio facio, latro vocor: quia tu magna claſſe, imperator. Refert Nonius Marc. ex Cicer. iii. de rep.

* S. Auſt. de Civ. Dei. l. iv. c. 4.

† Agebat infelicem Alexandrum furor aliena devaſtandi, et ad ignota mittebat. Jam in unum regnum multa regna conjecit (*or* congeſſit): jam Græci Perſæque eundem timent: jam etiam a Dario liberæ nationes jugum accipiunt. Hic tamen, ultra Oceanum Solemque, indignatur ab Herculis Liberique veſtigiis victoriam flectere: ipſi naturæ vim parat—et, ut ita dicam, mundi clauſtra perrumpit. Tanta eſt cœcitas mentium, et tanto initiorum ſuorum oblivio. Ille modo ignobilis anguli non ſine controverſia Dominus, detecto ſine terrarum, per ſuum rediturus orbem, triſtis eſt. Senec. epiſt. 94. et 119.

‡ Alexandro pectus inſatiabile laudis, qui Anaxarcho—innumerabiles mundos eſſe referenti: Heu me, inquit, miſerum, quod ne uno quidem adhuc potitus ſum! Anguſta homini poſſeſſio gloriæ fuit, quæ Deorum omnium domicilio ſuffecit. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 14.

§ Exitio gentium clari, non minores fuere peſtes mortalium, quam inundatio—quam conflagratio. Senec. Nat. Quæſt. l. iii. in Præfat.

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lay waſte and deſtroy all things; or to wild beaſts, who live merely by blood and ſlaughter?

Alexander, * paſſionately fond of glory, of which he neither knew the nature nor juſt bounds, prided himſelf upon treading in the ſteps of Hercules; and even in carrying his victorious arms farther than him. What reſemblance was there, ſays the ſame Seneca, between that wiſe conqueror, and this frantic youth, who miſtook his ſucceſsful raſhneſs for merit and virtue? Hercules, in his expeditions, made no conqueſts for himſelf. He overran the univerſe as the ſubduer of monſters, the enemy of the wicked, the avenger of the good, and the reſtorer of peace by land and ſea. Alexander, on the contrary, an unjuſt robber from his youth, a cruel ravager of provinces, an infamous murderer of his friends, makes his happineſs and glory conſiſt in rendering himſelf formidable to all mortals, forgetting that not only the fierceſt animals, but even the vileſt, make themſelves feared by their poiſons.

But, leaving this firſt conſideration, which repreſents conquerors to us as ſo many ſcourges ſent by the wrath of heaven into the world, to puniſh the ſins of it, let us proceed to examine the laſt conqueſts, abſtractedly in themſelves, of Alexander, in order to ſee what judgment we are to form of them.

It muſt be confeſſed, that the actions of this prince diffuſe a ſplendor that dazzles and aſtoniſhes the imagination, which is ever fond of the great and marvellous. His enthuſiaſtic courage raiſes and tranſports all who read his hiſtory, as it tranſported himſelf. But ought we to give the name of bravery and valour to a boldneſs that is equally blind, raſh, and impetuous; a boldneſs void of all rule, that will never liſten to the voice of reaſon, and has no other guide than a ſenſeleſs ardour for falſe glory, and a wild deſire of diſtinguiſhing itſelf, be the methods ever ſo unlawful? This character ſuits only a military robber, who has no attendants; whoſe life is only expoſed; and who, for that reaſon, may be employed in ſome deſperate action: But it is far otherwiſe with regard to a king, for he owes his life to all his army, and

* Homo gloriæ deditus, cujus nec naturam nec modum noverat, Herculis veſtigia ſequens, ac ne ibi quidem reſiſtens ubi illa defecerant. Quid illi (Herculi) ſimili habebat veſanus adoleſcens, cui pro virtute erat felix temeritas? Hercules nihil ſibi vicit: orbem terrarum tranſivit, non concupiſcendo, ſed vindicando. Quid vinceret malorum hoſtis, bonorum vindex, terrarum mariſque pacator? At hic a pueritia latro, gentiumque vaſtator, tam hoſtium pernicies quam amicorum, qui ſummum bonum duceret terrori eſſe cunctis mortalibus; oblitus, non ferociſſima tantum ſed ignaviſſima quoque animalia timeri ob virus malum. Senec. de benef. l. i. c. 13.

his whole kingdom. If we except ſome very rare occaſions, on which a prince is obliged to venture his perſon, and ſhare the danger with his troops in order to preſerve them, he ought to call to mind, that there is a great difference between a general and a private ſoldier. True valour is not deſirous of diſplaying itſelf, is noways anxious about its own reputation, but is ſolely intent on preſerving the army. It ſteers equally between a fearful wiſdom, that foreſees and dreads all difficulties, and a brutal ardour, which induſtriouſly purſues and confronts dangers of every kind. In a word, to form an accompliſhed general, prudence muſt ſoften and direct the too fiery temper of valour; as this latter muſt animate and warm the coldneſs and ſlowneſs of prudence.

Do any of theſe characteriſtics ſuit Alexander? When we peruſe hiſtory, and follow him to ſieges and battles, we are perpetually alarmed for his ſafety, and that of his army; and conclude every moment that they are upon the point of being deſtroyed. Here we ſee a rapid flood, which is going to draw in, and ſwallow up this conqueror: there we behold a craggy rock, up which he climbs, and perceives round him ſoldiers, either tranſfixed by the enemy's darts, or thrown headlong by huge ſtones into precipices. We tremble, when we perceive in a battle the axe juſt ready to cleave his head; and much more, when we behold him alone in a fortreſs, whither his raſhneſs had drawn him, expoſed to all the javelins of the enemy. Alexander was ever perſuaded that miracles would be wrought in his favour, than which nothing could be more unreaſonable, as Plutarch obſerves; for miracles do not always happen; and the gods at laſt are weary of guiding and preſerving raſh mortals, who abuſe the aſſiſtance they afford them.

* Plutarch, in a † treatiſe where he makes the eulogium of Alexander, and exhibits him as an accompliſhed hero, gives a long detail of ſeveral wounds he received in every part of his body; and pretends that the only deſign of fortune, in thus piercing him with wounds, was to make his courage more conſpicuous. A renowned warrior, whoſe eulogium Plutarch has drawn in another part of his writings, did not judge in this manner. ‡ Some perſons applauding him for a wound he had received in battle, the general himſelf declared, that it was a fault which could be excuſed only in a young man, and juſtly deſerved cenſure. It has

* Plut. de fortun. Alex. orat. ii. p. 341.

† This treatiſe, if written by Plutarch, ſeems a juvenile performance, and has very much the air of a declamation.

‡ Timotheus. Plut. in Pelop. p. 278.

been

been obſerved in Hannibal's praiſe, and I myſelf have taken notice of it elſewhere, that he was never wounded * in all his battles. I cannot ſay, whether Cæſar ever was.

The laſt obſervation, which relates in general to all Alexander's expeditions in Aſia, muſt neceſſarily leſſen very much the merit of his victories, and the ſplendor of his reputation; and this is the genius and character of the nations againſt whom he fought. Livy, in a digreſſion, where he enquires what would have been the fate of Alexander's arms, in caſe he had turned them towards Italy, and where he ſhows that Rome would certainly have checked his conqueſts, inſiſts ſtrongly on the reflection in queſtion. He oppoſes to this prince, in the article of courage, a great number of illuſtrious Romans, who would have reſiſted him on all occaſions; and in the article of prudence, that auguſt ſenate, which Cyneas, to give a more noble idea of it to Pyrrhus his ſovereign, ſaid, was compoſed of ſo many kings. "Had he "marched†," ſays Livy, "againſt the Romans, he would ſoon "have found, that he was no longer combating againſt a Darius, "who, encumbered with gold and purple, the vain equipage of "his grandeur, and dragging after him a multitude of women and "eunuchs, came as a prey rather than as an enemy; and whom "Alexander conquered without ſhedding much blood, and with-"out wanting any other merit, than that of daring to deſpiſe "what was really contemptible. He would have found Italy "very different from India, through which he marched in a riot-"ous manner, his army quite ſtupified with wine; particularly "when he ſhould have ſeen the foreſts of Apulia, the mountains "of Lucania, and the ſtill recent footſteps of the defeat of Alex-"ander his uncle, king of Epirus, who there loſt his life." The hiſtorian adds, that he ſpeaks of Alexander, not yet depraved and corrupted by proſperity, whoſe ſubtle poiſon worked as ſtrongly upon him, as upon any man that ever lived: and he concludes, that, being thus transformed, he would have appeared very different in Italy from what he had ſeemed hitherto.

Theſe reflections of Livy ſhow, that Alexander partly owed

* Mention is made of one ſingle wound

† Non jam cum Dario rem eſſe dixiſſet, quem mulierum ac ſpadonum agmen trahentem, inter purpuram atque aurum, oneratum fortunæ ſuæ apparatibus, prædam verius quam hoſtem, nihil aliud quam bene auſus vana contemnere, incruentus devicit. Longe alius Italiæ, quam Indiæ, per quam temulento agmine commeſſabundus inceſſit, viſus illi habitus eſſet, ſaltus Apuliæ ac montes Lucanos cernenti, et veſtigia recentia, domeſticæ cladis, ubi avunculus ejus nuper, Epiri Rex, Alexander abſumptus erat. Liv. l. ix. n. 17.

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his victories to the weakneſs of his enemies; and that, had he met with nations as courageous, and as well inured to all the hardſhips of war as the Romans, and commanded by as able, experienced generals as thoſe of Rome; that then his victories would not have been either ſo rapid, or ſo uninterrupted. Nevertheleſs, with ſome, from hence we are to judge of the merits of a conqueror. Hannibal and Scipio are conſidered as two of the greateſt generals that ever lived, and for this reaſon: both of them not only underſtood perfectly the military ſcience, but their experience, their abilities, their reſolution and courage, were put to the trial, and ſet in the ſtrongeſt light. Now, ſhould we give to either of them an unequal antagoniſt, one whoſe reputation is not anſwerable to theirs, we ſhall no longer have the ſame idea of them; and their victories, though ſuppoſed alike, appear no longer with the ſame luſtre, nor deſerve the ſame applauſe.

Mankind are but too apt to be dazzled by ſhining actions and a pompous exterior, and blindly abandon themſelves to prejudices of every kind. It cannot be denied but that Alexander poſſeſſed very great qualities; but if we throw into the other ſcale his errors and vices, the preſumptuous idea he entertained of his merit*; the high contempt he had for other men, not excepting his own father; his ardent thirſt of praiſe and flattery; his ridiculous notion of fancying himſelf the ſon of Jupiter; of aſcribing divinity to himſelf; of requiring a free, victorious people to pay him a ſervile homage, and proſtrate themſelves ignominiouſly before him; his abandoning himſelf ſo ſhamefully to wine; his violent anger, which riſes to brutal ferocity; the unjuſt and barbarous execution of his braveſt and moſt faithful officers, and the murder of his moſt worthy friends in the midſt of feaſt and carouſals: Can any one, ſays Livy, believe, that all theſe imperfections do not greatly ſully the reputation of a conqueror? But Alexander's frantic ambition, which knows neither law nor limits; the raſh intrepidity with which he braves dangers, without the leaſt reaſon or neceſſity; the weakneſs and ignorance of the nations, totally unſkilled in war, againſt whom he fought: Do not theſe enervate the reaſons for which he is thought to have merited the ſurname of Great, and the title of Hero? This however I leave to the prudence and equity of my reader.

* Referre in tanto rege piget ſuperbam mutationem veſtis, et deſideratus humi jacentium adulationes, etiam victis Macedonibus graves, nedum victoribus; et fœda ſupplicia, et inter vinum et epulas cædes amicorum, et vanitatem ementiendæ ſtirpis. Quid ſi vini amor in dies fieret acrior? quid ſi trux ac præfervida ira? (nec quicquam dubium inter ſcriptores refero) nullane hæc damna imperatoriis virtutibus ducimus? Liv. l. ix. n. 18.

As to myſelf, I am ſurpriſed to find that all orators who applaud a prince, never fail to compare him to Alexander. They fancy when he is once equalled to this king, it is impoſſible for panegyric to ſoar higher; they cannot imagine to themſelves any thing more auguſt; and think they have omitted the ſtroke which finiſhes the glory of a hero, ſhould they not exalt him by this compariſon. In my opinion this denotes a falſe taſte, a wrong turn of thinking; and, if I might be allowed to ſay it, a want of judgment, which muſt naturally ſhock a reaſonable mind. For, as Alexander was inveſted with ſupreme power, he ought to have fulfilled the ſeveral duties of the ſovereignty. We do not find that he poſſeſſed the firſt, the moſt eſſential, and moſt excellent virtues of a great prince, who is to be the father, the guardian, and ſhepherd of his people; to govern them by good laws; to make their trade, both by ſea and land, flouriſh; to encourage and protect arts and ſciences; to eſtabliſh peace and plenty, and not ſuffer his ſubjects to be in any manner aggrieved or injured; to maintain an agreeable harmony between all orders of the ſtate, and make them conſpire, in due proportion, to the public welfare; to employ himſelf in doing juſtice to all his ſubjects, to hear their diſputes, and reconcile them; to conſider himſelf as the father of his people, conſequently as obliged to provide for all their neceſſities, and to procure them the ſeveral enjoyments of life. Now Alexander, who almoſt a moment after he aſcended the throne, left Macedonia, and never returned back into it, did not endeavour at any of theſe things, which however are the chief and moſt ſubſtantial duties of a great prince.

He ſeems poſſeſſed of ſuch qualities only as are of the ſecond rank, I mean thoſe of war, and theſe are all extravagant; are carried to the raſheſt and moſt odious exceſs, and to the extremes of folly and fury; whilſt his kingdom is left a prey to the rapine and exactions of Antipater; and all the conquered provinces abandoned to the inſatiable avarice of the governors, who carried their oppreſſion ſo far, that Alexander was forced to put them to death. Nor do his ſoldiers appear in a more advantageous light: for theſe, after having plundered the wealth of the eaſt, and after the prince had given them the higheſt marks of his beneficence, grew ſo licentious, ſo debauched and abandoned to vices of every kind, that he was forced to pay their debts, amounting to L.1,500,000. What ſtrange men were theſe! how depraved their ſchool! how pernicious the fruit of their victories! Is it doing honour to a prince, is it adorning his panegyric, to compare him with ſuch a model?

The Romans indeed ſeem to have held Alexander's memory in great

great veneration; but I very much queſtion, whether, in the virtuous ages of the commonwealth, he would have been conſidered as ſo great a man. Cæſar* ſeeing his ſtatue in a temple in Spain, during his government of it, after his prætorſhip, could not forbear groaning and ſighing, when he compared the few glorious actions atchieved by him, to the mighty exploits of this conqueror. It was ſaid that Pompey, in one of his triumphs, appeared dreſſed in that king's ſurtout. Auguſtus pardoned the Alexandrians, for the ſake of their founder. Caligula, in a ceremony in which he aſſumed the character of a mighty conqueror, wore Alexander's coat of mail. But no one carried his veneration for this monarch ſo far as Caracalla. He uſed the ſame kind of arms and goblets as that prince: He had a Macedonian phalanx in his army: He perſecuted the Peripatetics, and would have burned all the books of Ariſtotle their founder, becauſe he was ſuſpected to have conſpired with thoſe who poiſoned Alexander.

I believe that I may juſtly aſſert, that if an impartial perſon of good ſenſe reads Plutarch's lives of illuſtrious men with attention, they will leave ſuch a tacit and ſtrong impreſſion in his mind, as will make him conſider Alexander one of the leaſt valuable among them. But how ſtrong would the contraſt be found, had we the lives of Epaminondas, of Hannibal, and Scipio, the loſs of which can never be too much regretted! How little would Alexander appear, ſet off with all his titles, and ſurrounded by all his conqueſts, even if conſidered in a military light, when compared to thoſe heroes, who were truly great, and worthy their exalted reputation!

## SECTION XX.

### REFECTIONS ON THE PERSIANS, GREEKS, AND MACEDONIANS, BY M. BOSSEUT, BISHOP OF MEAUX.

THE reader will not be diſpleaſed with my inſerting here part of the admirable reflections† of the biſhop of Meaux, on the character and government of the Perſians, Greeks, and Macedonians, whoſe hiſtory we have heard.

The Greek nations, ſeveral of whom had at firſt lived under a monarchical form of government, having ſtudied the arts of civil polity, imagined they were able to govern themſelves, and moſt of their cities formed themſelves into commonwealths. But the

* Diod. l. xxxvii. p. 53. App. de Bell. Mithrid. p. 253. Dion. l. li. p. 454. Id. l. lix. p. 653. Id. l. lxvii. p. 873.

† Diſcourſe on Univerſal Hiſtory. Part iii. chap. 4.

wiſe

wise legislators, who arose in every country, as a Thales, a Pythagoras, a Pittacus, a Lycurgus, a Solon, and many others mentioned in history, prevented liberty from degenerating into licentiousness. Laws drawn up with great simplicity, and few in number, awed the people, held them in their duty, and made them all conspire to the general good of the country.

The idea of liberty which such a conduct inspired, was wonderful; for the liberty which the Greeks figured to themselves, was subject to the law, that is, to reason itself, acknowledged as such by the whole nation. They would not let men rise to power among them. Magistrates, who were feared during their office, became afterwards private men, and had no authority but what their experience gave them. The law was considered as their sovereign; it was she appointed magistrates, prescribed the limits of their power, and punished their mal-administration. The advantage of this government was, the citizens bore so much the greater love to their country, as all shared in the government of it, and as every individual was capable of attaining its highest dignities.

The advantage which accrued to Greece from philosophy, with regard to the preservation of its form of government, is incredible. The greater freedom these nations enjoyed, the greater necessity there was to settle the laws relating to manners and those of society, agreeable to reason and good sense. From Pythagoras, Thales, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Archytas, Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, and a multitude more, the Greeks received their noble precepts.

But why should we mention philosophers only? The writings of even the poets, which were in every body's hands, diverted them very much, but instructed them still more. The most renowned of conquerors considered Homer as a master, who taught him to govern wisely. This great poet instructed people no less happily in obedience and the duties of a good citizen.

When the Greeks, thus educated, saw the delicacy of the Asiatics, their dress and beauty emulating that of women, they held them in the utmost contempt. But their form of government, that had no other rule than their prince's will, which took place of all laws, not excepting the most sacred, inspired them with horror: and the barbarians were the most hateful of objects to Greece.

* The Grecks had imbibed this hatred in the most early times, and it was become almost natural to them. A circumstance which

* Isocr in Penegyr.

made

made these nations delight so much in Homer's poems, was his celebrating the advantages and victories of Greece over Asia. On the side of Asia was Venus, that is to say, the pleasures, the idle loves, and effeminacy: on that of Greece was Juno, or, in other words, gravity with conjugal affection, Mercury with eloquence, and Jupiter with wise policy. With the Asiatics was Mars, an impetuous and brutal deity, that is to say, war carried on with fury: with the Greeks Pallas, or, in other words, the science of war and valour, conducted by reason. The Grecians, from this time, had ever imagined, that understanding and true bravery were natural as well as peculiar to them. They could not bear the thoughts of Asia's design to conquer them; and in bowing to this yoke, they would have thought they had subjected virtue to pleasure, the mind to the body, and true courage to force without reason, which consisted merely in numbers.

The Greeks were strongly inspired with these sentiments, when Darius, son of Hystaspes, and Xerxes invaded them with armies so prodigiously numerous as exceeds all belief. The Persians found often, to their cost, the great advantage which discipline has over multitude and confusion; and how greatly superior courage, when conducted by art, is to a blind impetuosity.

Persia, after having been so often conquered by the Greeks, had nothing to do but to sow divisions among them; and the height to which conquest had raised the latter, facilitated this effect. * As fear held them in the bands of union, victory and security dissolved them. Having always been used to fight and conquer, they no sooner believed that the power of the Persians could not distress them, but they turned their arms against each other.

Among the several republics of which Greece was composed, Athens and Lacedæmon were undoubtedly the chief. These two great commonwealths, whose manners and conduct were directly opposite, perplexed and incommoded one another, in the common design they had of subjecting all Greece; so that they were eternally at variance, and this more from a contrariety of interests, than an opposition of tempers and dispositions.

The Grecian cities would not subject themselves to either; for, besides that every one of them desired to live free and independent, they were not pleased with the government of either of those two commonwealths. We have shown, in the course of this history, that the Peloponnesian, and other wars, were either owing to, or supported by, the reciprocal jealousy of Lacedæmonia and

* Plat. de Leg. l. iii.

Athens.

Athens. But at the same time that this jealousy disturbed, it supported Greece in some measure; and kept it from being dependent on either of those republics.

The Persians soon perceived this state and condition of Greece; after which, the whole secret of their politics was to keep up these jealousies, and foment these divisions. Lacedæmonia, being the most ambitious, was the first that made them engage in the Grecian quarrels. The Persians took part in them, with the view of subjecting the whole nation; and industrious to make the Greeks weaken one another, they only waited for the favourable instant to crush them all together. *And now the cities of Greece considered, in their wars, only the king of Persia; whom they called the Great King, or the King, by way of eminence, as if they already thought themselves his subjects. However, when Greece was upon the brink of slavery, and ready to fall into the hands of the barbarians, it was impossible for the genius, the ancient spirit of the country, not to rouse and take the alarm. Agesilaus, king of Lacedæmonia, made the Persians tremble in Asia Minor, and showed that they might be humbled. Their weakness was still more evident, by the glorious retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, who had followed the younger Cyrus.

It was then that all Greece saw, more plainly than ever, that it possessed an invincible body of soldiery, which was able to subdue all nations; and that nothing but its feuds and divisions could subject it to an enemy, who was too weak to resist it when united.

Philip of Macedon, a prince whose abilities were equal to his valour, took so great advantage of the divisions which reigned between the various cities and commonwealths, that though his kingdom was but small, yet, as it was united, and his power absolute, he at last, partly by artifice, and partly by strength, rose to greater power than any of the Grecian states, and obliged them all to march under his standards against the common enemy. This was the state of Greece when Philip lost his life, and Alexander, his son, succeeded to his kingdom and to the designs he had projected.

The Macedonians, at his accession, were not only well disciplined, and inured to toils, but triumphant; and become, by so many successes, almost as much superior to the other Greeks in valour and discipline, as the rest of the Greeks were superior to the Persians, and to such nations as resembled them.

Darius, who reigned over Persia in Alexander's time, was a

* Plat. de Leg. l. iii. Isocrat. in Paneg.

juſt, brave, and generous prince; was beloved by his ſubjects, and wanted neither good ſenſe, nor vigour, for the execution of his deſigns. But if we compare them; if we oppoſe the genius of Darius, to the penetrating, ſublime one of Alexander; the valour of the former, to the mighty, invincible courage, which obſtacles animated, of the latter; with that boundleſs deſire of Alexander, of augmenting his glory, and his entire belief that all things ought to bow the neck to him, as being formed by providence ſuperior to the reſt of mortals—a belief with which he inſpired, not only his generals, but the meaneſt of his ſoldiers, who thereby roſe above difficulties, and even above themſelves—the reader will eaſily judge which of the monarchs was to be victorious.

If to theſe conſiderations we add the advantages which the Greeks and Macedonians had over their enemies, it muſt be confeſſed, that it was impoſſible for the Perſian empire to ſubſiſt any longer, when invaded by ſo great a hero, and by ſuch invincible armies. And thus we diſcover, at one and the ſame time, the circumſtance which ruined the empire of the Perſians, and raiſed that of Alexander.

To ſmooth his way to victory, the Perſians happened to loſe the only general who was able to make head againſt the Greeks, and this was Memnon of Rhodes. So long as Alexander fought againſt this illuſtrious warrior, he might glory in having vanquiſhed an enemy worthy of himſelf. But in the very infancy of a diverſion, which began already to divide Greece, Memnon died, after which Alexander obliged all things to give way before him.

This prince made his entrance into Babylon, with a ſplendor and magnificence which had never been ſeen before; and, after having revenged Greece; after ſubduing, with incredible ſwiftneſs, all the nations ſubject to Perſia; to ſecure his new empire on every ſide, or rather to ſatiate his ambition, and render his name more famous than that of Bacchus, he marched into India, and there extended his conqueſts farther than that celebrated conqueror had done. But the monarch, whoſe impetuous career neither deſerts, rivers, nor mountains could ſtop, was obliged to yield to the murmurs of his ſoldiers, who called aloud for eaſe and repoſe.

Alexander returned to Babylon, dreaded and reſpected, not as a conqueror, but as a god. Nevertheleſs, the formidable empire he had acquired, ſubſiſted no longer than his life, which was but ſhort. At 33 years of age, in the midſt of the grandeſt deſigns that ever man formed, and flushed with the fureſt hopes of ſucceſs, he died, before he had leiſure to ſettle his affairs on a

ſolid

ſolid foundation; leaving behind him a weak brother, and children very young, all incapable of ſupporting the weight of ſuch a power.

But the circumſtance, which proved moſt fatal to his family and empire, was his having taught the generals who ſurvived him, to breathe nothing but ambition and war. He foreſaw the prodigious lengths they would go after his death. To curb their ambitious views, and for fear of miſtaking in his conjectures, he did not dare to name his ſucceſſor, or the guardian of his children. He only foretold, that his friends would ſolemnize his obſequies with bloody battles; and he expired in the flower of his age, full of the ſad images of the confuſion which would follow his death.

And, indeed, Macedonia, the kingdom he inherited, which his anceſtors had governed during ſo many ages, was invaded on all ſides, as a ſucceſſion that was become vacant; and, after being long expoſed a prey, was at laſt poſſeſſed by another family. Thus this great conqueror, the moſt renowned the world ever ſaw, was the laſt king of his family. Had he lived peaceably in Macedon, the vaſt bounds of his empire would not have proved a temptation to his generals; and he would have left to his children the kingdom he inherited from his anceſtors. But riſing to too exalted a height of power, he proved the deſtruction of his poſterity; and ſuch was the glorious fruit of all his conqueſts.

# BOOK SIXTEENTH.

THE

# HISTORY

OF

# ALEXANDER's SUCCESSORS.

PLAN.

This chapter contains the competition and wars that ſubſiſted between the generals of Alexander, from the death of that prince to the battle of Ipſus in Phrygia, which decided their ſeveral fates. Theſe events include the ſpace of 23 years, which coincide with the firſt 23 years of the reign of Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus, from the year of the world 3681 to the year 3704.

## SECTION I.

TROUBLES WHICH FOLLOWED THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER.—PARTITION OF THE PROVINCES.—ARIDÆUS IS DECLARED KING.—PERDICCAS APPOINTED HIS GUARDIAN.

IN relating the death of Alexander the Great, I mentioned many troubles and commotions that aroſe in the army on the firſt news of that event. All the troops in general, ſoldiers as well as officers, had their thoughts entirely taken up, at firſt, with the loſs of a prince whom they loved as a father, and reverenced almoſt as a god, and abandoned themſelves immoderately to grief and tears. A mournful ſilence reigned throughout the camp; but this was ſoon ſucceeded by diſmal ſighs and cries, which ſpeak the true language of the heart, and never flow from a vain oſtentation of ſorrow, which is too often paid to cuſtom and decorum on ſuch occaſions *.

When the firſt impreſſions of grief had given place to reflection, they began to conſider, with the utmoſt conſternation, the ſtate in which Alexander had left them. They found themſelves

* Paſſim ſilentia et gemitus: nihil compoſitum in oſtentationem—altius mœrebant. Tacit.

at

at an infinite distance from their native country, and amidst a people lately subdued, so little accustomed to their new yoke, that they were hardly acquainted with their present masters, and had not as yet had sufficient time to forget their ancient laws, and that form of government under which they had always lived. What measures could be taken to keep a country of such vast extent in subjection? How could it be possible to suppress those seditions and revolts which would naturally break out on all sides in that decisive moment? What expedients could be formed to restrain those troops within the limits of their duty, who had so long been habituated to complaints and murmurs, and were commanded by chiefs, whose views and pretensions were so different?

The only remedy for these various calamities seemed to consist in a speedy nomination of a successor to Alexander; and the troops, as well as the officers, and the whole Macedonian state, seemed at first to be very desirous of this expedient: And, indeed, their common interest and security, with the preservation of their new conquests, amidst the barbarous nations that surrounded them, made it necessary for them to consider this election as their first and most important care, and to turn their thoughts to the choice of a person qualified to fill so arduous a station, and sustain the weight of it in such a manner as to be capable of supporting the general order and tranquillity. But it had already been written, "*That the kingdom of Alexander should be divided and "rent asunder after his death," and that it should not be transmitted in the usual manner "to his posterity." No efforts of human wisdom could establish a sole successor to that prince. In vain did they deliberate, consult, and decide; nothing could be executed contrary to the pre-ordained event, and nothing short of it could possibly subsist. A superior and invincible power had already disposed of the kingdom, and divided it by an inevitable decree, as will be evident in the sequel. The circumstances of this partition had been denounced near three centuries before this time; the portions of it had already been assigned to different possessors, and nothing could frustrate that division, which was only to be deferred for a few years. Till the arrival of that period, men indeed might raise commotions, and concert a variety of movements; but all their efforts would only tend to the accomplishment of what had been ordained by the sovereign master of kingdoms, and of what had been foretold by his prophet.

Alexander had a son by Barsina, and had conferred the name

* Dan. xi. 4.

of Hercules upon him. Roxana, another of his wives, was advanced in her pregnancy when that prince died. He had likewiſe a natural brother called Aridæus; but he would not upon his death-bed diſpoſe of his dominions in favour of any heir; for which reaſon this vaſt empire, which no longer had a maſter to ſway it, became a ſource of competition and wars, as Alexander had plainly foreſeen, when he declared, that his friends would celebrate his funeral with bloody battles.

The diviſion was augmented by the equality among the generals of the army, none of whom was ſo ſuperior to his colleagues, either by birth or merit, as to induce them to offer him the empire, and ſubmit to his authority. The cavalry were deſirous that Aridæus ſhould ſucceed Alexander. This prince had diſcovered but little force of mind from the time he had been afflicted in his infancy with a violent indiſpoſition, occaſioned, as was pretended, by ſome particular drink, which had been given him by Olympias, and which had diſordered his underſtanding. This ambitious princeſs, being apprehenſive that the engaging qualities ſhe diſcovered in Aridæus would be ſo many obſtacles to the greatneſs of her ſon Alexander, thought it expedient to have recourſe to the criminal precaution already mentioned. The infantry had declared againſt this prince, and were headed by Ptolemy, and other chiefs of great reputation, who began to think of their own particular eſtabliſhment; for a ſudden revolution was working in the minds of theſe officers, and cauſed them to contemn the rank of private perſons, and all dependency and ſubordination, with a view of aſpiring to ſovereign power, which had never employed their thoughts till then, and to which they had never thought themſelves qualified to pretend, before this conjuncture of affairs.

† Theſe diſputes, which engaged the minds of all parties, delayed the interment of Alexander for the ſpace of ſeven days; and, if we may credit ſome authors, the body continued uncorrupted all that time. It was afterwards delivered to the Egyptians and Chaldeans, who embalmed it after their manner; and Aridæus, a different perſon from him I have already mentioned, was charged with the care of conveying it to Alexandria.

After a variety of troubles and agitations had intervened, the principal officers aſſembled at the conference; where it was unanimouſly concluded, that Aridæus ſhould be king, or rather that he ſhould be inveſted with the ſhadow of royalty. His infirmity of mind, which ought to have excluded him from the throne, was the

† Q. Curt. l. x. Juſtin. l. xviii. Diod. l. xviii.

very

very motive of their advancing him to it, and uniting all suffrages in his favour. It favoured the hopes and pretensions of all the chiefs, and covered their designs. It was also agreed in this assembly, that if Roxana, who was then in the fifth or sixth month of her pregnancy, should have a son, he should be associated with Aridæus in the throne. Perdiccas, to whom Alexander had left his ring in the last moments of his life, had the person of the prince consigned to his care as guardian, and was constituted regent of the kingdom.

The same assembly, whatever respect they might bear to the memory of Alexander, thought fit to annul some of his regulations, which had been destructive to the state, and had exhausted his treasury. He had given orders for six temples to be erected in particular cities which he had named, and had fixed the expences of each of these structures at 500 talents, which amounted to 500,000 crowns. He had likewise ordered a pyramid to be raised over the tomb of his father Philip, which was to be finished with a grandeur and magnificence equal to that in Egypt, esteemed one of the seven wonders of the world. He had likewise planned out other expences of the like kind, which were prudently revoked by the assembly.

*Within a short time after these proceedings, Roxana was delivered of a son, who was named Alexander, and acknowledged king, jointly with Aridæus. But neither of these princes possessed any thing more than the name of royalty, as all authority was entirely lodged in the great lords and generals, who had divided the provinces among themselves.

In Europe; Thrace and the adjacent regions were consigned to Lysimachus; and Macedonia, Epirus, and Greece, were allotted to Antipater and Craterus.

In Africa; Egypt, and the other conquests of Alexander in Libya, and Cyrenaica, were assigned to Ptolemy the son of Lagus, with that part of Arabia which borders on Egypt. The month of Thoth in the autumn is the epocha, from whence the years of the empire of the Lagides in Egypt begin to be computed; though Ptolemy did not assume the title of king, in conjunction with the other successors of Alexander, till about 17 years after this event.

In the Lesser Asia; Lycia, Pamphylia, and the Greater Phrygia, were given to Antigonus; Caria to Cassander; Lydia, to Menander; the Lesser Phrygia, to Leonatus; Armenia, to Neoptolemus; Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, to Eumenes. These two

* Diod. l. xviii. p. 587. 588. Justin. l. xiii. c. 4. Q. Curt. l. x c. 10.

provinces

provinces had never been ſubjected by the Macedonians, and Ariarthes king of Cappadocia continued to govern them, as formerly; Alexander having advanced with ſo much rapidity to his other conqueſts, as left him no inclination to amuſe himſelf with the entire reduction of that province, contented himſelf with a ſlight ſubmiſſion.

Syria and Phœnicia fell to Laomedon; one of the two Medias to Atropates, and the other to Perdiccas. Perſia was aſſigned to Peuceſtes; Babylonia, to Archon; Meſopotamia, to Arceſilas; Parthia and Hyracania, to Prataphernes; Bactria and Sogdiana, to Philip. The other regions were divided among generals whoſe names are now but little known.

Seleucus, the ſon of Antiochus, was placed at the head of the cavalry of the allies, which was a poſt of great importance; and Caſſander, ſon of Antipater, commanded the companies of guards.

The Upper Aſia, which extends almoſt to India, and even India alſo, were left in the poſſeſſion of thoſe who had been appointed governors of thoſe countries by Alexander.

* The ſame diſpoſition generally prevailed in all the provinces I have already mentioned; and it is in this ſenſe that moſt interpreters explain that paſſage in the Maccabees, which declares, that Alexander, having aſſembled the great men of his court who had been bred up with him, divided his empire among them in his life-time: and indeed it was very probable, that this prince, when he ſaw his death approaching, and had no inclination to nominate a ſucceſſor himſelf, was contented with confirming each of his officers in the government he had formerly aſſigned them, which is ſufficient to authorize the declaration in the Maccabees, "that he divided his kingdom among them whilſt he was living."

This partition was only the work of man, and its duration was but ſhort. That Being, who reigns alone, and is the only king of ages, had decreed a different diſtribution. He aſſigned to each his portion, and marked out its boundaries and extent, and his diſpoſition alone was to ſubſiſt.

The partition concluded upon in the aſſembly, was the ſource of various diviſions and wars, as will be evident in the ſeries of this hiſtory; each of theſe governors claiming the exerciſe of an independent and ſovereign power in his particular province. They however paid that veneration to the memory of Alexander, as not to aſſume the title of King, till all the race of that monarch, who had been placed upon the throne, were extinct†.

Among the governors of the provinces I have mentioned, ſome

* Maccab. l. i. 6, et 7. † Juſtin. l. xv. c. 2.

diſtinguiſhed

diſtinguiſhed themſelves more than others by their reputation, merit, and cabals; and formed different parties, to which the others adhered, agreeably to their particular views, either of intereſt or ambition: for it is not to be imagined, that the reſolutions which are formed in conjunctures of this nature are much influenced by a devotion to the public good.

* Eumenes muſt however be excepted; for he undoubtedly was the moſt virtuous man among all the governors, and had no ſuperior in true bravery. He was always firm in the intereſt of the two kings, from a principle of true probity. He was a native of Cardia, a city of Thrace, and his birth was but obſcure. Philip, who had obſerved excellent qualities in him in his youth, kept him near his own perſon in the quality of ſecretary, and repoſed great confidence in him. He was equally eſteemed by Alexander, who treated him with extraordinary marks of his eſteem. Barſina, the firſt lady for whom this prince had entertained a paſſion in Aſia, and by whom he had a ſon named Hercules, had a ſiſter of the ſame name with her own, and the king eſpouſed her to Eumenes†. We ſhall ſee by the event, that this wiſe favourite conducted himſelf in ſuch a manner, as juſtly entitled him to the favour of theſe two monarchs, even after their death; and all his ſentiments and actions will make it evident that a man may be a plebeian, and yet very noble by nature.

‡ I have already intimated, that Syſigambis, who had patiently ſupported the death of her father, huſband, and ſon, was incapable of ſurviving Alexander. § The death of this princeſs was ſoon followed by that of her two youngeſt daughters, Statira the widow of Alexander, and Drypetis the relict of Hephæſtion. Roxana, who was apprehenſive leaſt Statira ſhould be pregnant by Alexander as well as herſelf, and that the birth of a prince would fruſtrate the meaſures which had been taken to ſecure the ſucceſſion to the ſon ſhe hoped to have, prevailed upon the two ſiſters to viſit her, and ſecretly deſtroyed them in concert with Perdiccas, her only confident in that infamous proceeding.

It is now time to enter upon a detail of thoſe actions that were performed by the ſucceſſors of Alexander. I ſhall therefore begin with the defection of the Greeks in Upper Aſia, and with the war which Antipater had to ſuſtain againſt Greece; becauſe thoſe tranſactions are moſt detached, and in a manner diſtinct from the other events.

* Plut. in Eumen. p. 583. Cor. Nep. in Eumen. c. 1.
† Arrian declares he had another wife. Lib. vii. p. 278.
‡ Q. Curt. l. x. c. 5. § Plut. in Alex.

SECT.

## SECTION II.

REVOLT OF THE GREEKS IN UPPER ASIA—ANTIPATER GOES INTO GREECE—FLIGHT AND DEATH OF DEMOSTHENES.

THE Greeks* whom Alexander had eſtabliſhed, in the form of colonies, in the provinces of Upper Aſia, continued with reluctance in thoſe ſettlements, becauſe they did not experience thoſe delights and ſatisfactions with which they had flattered themſelves, and had long cheriſhed an ardent deſire of returning into their own country. They however durſt not diſcover their uneaſineſs whilſt Alexander was living, but the moment they received intelligence of his death, they openly declared their intentions. They armed 20,000 foot, all warlike and experienced ſoldiers, with 3000 horſe; and having placed Philon at their head, they prepared for their departure, without taking counſel, or receiving orders from any but themſelves, as if they had been ſubject to no authority, and no longer acknowledged any ſuperior.

Perdiccas, who foreſaw the conſequence of ſuch an enterpriſe, at a time when every thing was in motion, and when the troops as well as their officers breathed nothing but independency, ſent Pithon to oppoſe them. The merit of this officer was acknowledged by all; and he willingly charged himſelf with this commiſſion, in expectation of gaining over thoſe Greeks, and of procuring himſelf ſome conſiderable eſtabliſhment in Upper Aſia by their means. Perdiccas, being acquainted with his deſign, gave a very ſurpriſing order to the Macedonians whom he ſent with that general, which was to exterminate the revolters entirely. Pithon, on his arrival, brought over by money 3000 Greeks, who turned their backs in the battle, and were the occaſion of his obtaining a complete victory. The vanquiſhed troops ſurrendered, but made the preſervation of their lives and liberties the condition of their ſubmitting to the conqueror. This was exactly agreeable to Pithon's deſign, but he was no longer maſter of its execution. The Macedonians, thinking it incumbent on them to accompliſh the orders of Perdiccas, inhumanly ſlaughtered all the Greeks, without the leaſt regard to the terms they had granted them. Pithon, being thus defeated in his views, returned with his Macedonians to Perdiccas.

† This expedition was ſoon ſucceeded by the Grecian war. The news of Alexander's death being brought to Athens, had excited great rumours, and occaſioned a joy that was almoſt uni-

* A. M. 3861. Ant. J. C. 323. Diod. l. xviii. p. 561, 592.
† Plut. in Phoc. p. 751, 752.

verſal.

verſal. The people, who had long ſuſtained with reluctance the yoke which the Macedonians had impoſed on Greece, made liberty the ſubject of all their diſcourſe: they breathed nothing but war, and abandoned themſelves to all the extravagant emotions of a ſenſeleſs and exceſſive joy. Phocion, who was a perſon of wiſdom and moderation, and doubted the truth of the intelligence they had received, endeavoured to calm the turbulency of their minds, which rendered them incapable of counſel and ſedate reflection. As the generality of the orators, notwithſtanding all his remonſtrances, believed the news of Alexander's death, Phocion roſe up, and expreſſed himſelf in this manner: "If he be "really dead to-day, he will likewiſe be ſo to-morrow and the "next day, ſo that we will have time enough to deliberate in a "calm manner, and with greater ſecurity."

Leoſthenes, who was the firſt that publiſhed this account at Athens, was continually haranguing the people with exceſſive arrogance and vanity. Phocion, who was tired with his ſpeeches, ſaid to him, "Young man, your diſcourſe reſembles the cypreſs, "which is tall and ſpreading, but bears no fruit." He gave great offence, by oppoſing the inclinations of the people in ſo ſtrenuous a manner, and Hyperides, riſing up, aſked him this queſtion: "When would you adviſe the Athenians to make war?" "As ſoon," replied Phocion, "as I ſee the young men "firmly reſolved to obſerve a ſtrict diſcipline; the rich diſpoſed "to contribute, according to their abilities, to the expence of a "war; and when the orators no longer rob the public."

All the remonſtrances of Phocion were ineffectual; a war was reſolved upon, and a deputation agreed to be ſent to all the ſtates of Greece, to engage their acceſſion to the league. This is the war in which all the Greeks, except the Thebans, united to maintain the liberty of their country, under the conduct of Leoſthenes, againſt Antipater, and it was called the Lamian war, from the name of the city where the latter was defeated in the firſt battle.

*Demoſthenes, who was then an exile at Magara, but who amidſt his misfortunes always retained an ardent zeal for the intereſt of his country, and the defence of the common liberty, joined himſelf with the Athenian ambaſſadors ſent into Peloponneſus, and having ſeconded their remonſtrances in a wonderful manner by the force of his eloquence, he engaged Sicyone, Argos, Corinth, and the other cities of Peloponneſus, to accede to the league.

* Plut. in Demoſt. p. 858. Juſtin. l. xxiii. c. 5.

The

The Athenians were ſtruck with admiration at a zeal ſo noble and generous, and immediately paſſed a decree to recall him from baniſhment. A galley with three ranks of oars was diſpatched to him at Ægina; and, when he entered the port of Piræus, all the magiſtrates and prieſts advanced out of the city, and all the citizens crowded to meet that illuſtrious exile, and received him with the utmoſt demonſtrations of affection and joy, blended at the ſame time with an air of ſorrow and repentance, for the injury they had done him. Demoſthenes was ſenſibly affected with the extraordinary honours that were rendered him; and whilſt he returned, as it were in triumph, to his country, amidſt the acclamations of the people, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, to thank the gods for ſo illuſtrious a protection, and congratulated himſelf on beholding a day more glorious to him, than that had proved to Alcibiades, on which he returned from his exile: for his citizens received him from the pure effect of deſire and will; whereas the reception of Alcibiades was involuntary, and his entrance a compulſion upon their inclinations.

*The generality of thoſe who were far advanced in years were extremely apprehenſive of the event of a war, which had been undertaken with too much precipitation, and without examining into the conſequences with all the attention and ſedateneſs that an enterpriſe of ſo much importance required. They were ſenſible alſo, that there was no neceſſity for declaring themſelves ſo openly againſt the Macedonians, whoſe veteran troops were very formidable; and the example of Thebes, which was deſtroyed by the ſame temerity of conduct, added to their conſternation. But the orators, who derived their advantages from the diſtraction of the public affairs, and to whom, according to the obſervation of Philip, war was peace, and peace war, would not allow the people time to deliberate maturely on the affairs propoſed to their conſideration, but drew them into their ſentiments by a fallacious eloquence, which preſented them with nothing but ſcenes of future conqueſts and triumphs.

Demoſthenes and Phocion, who wanted neither zeal nor prudence, were of different ſentiments on this occaſion, which was no extraordinary circumſtance with reſpect to them. It is not my province to determine which of them had reaſon on his ſide: but, in ſuch a perplexing conjuncture as this, there is nothing ſurpriſing in a contrariety of opinions, though the reſult of good intentions on both ſides. Phocion's ſcheme was, perhaps, the moſt prudent, and that of Demoſthenes the moſt glorious.

* Diod. l. xviii. p. 507—599.

However,

However that were, a conſiderable army was raiſed, and a very numerous fleet fitted out. All the citizens who were under the age of forty, and capable of bearing arms, were drawn out. Three of the ten tribes that compoſed the republic were left for the defence of Attica, the reſt marched out with the allies, under the command of Leoſthenes.

Antipater was far from being indolent during theſe tranſactions in Greece, of which he had been appriſed, and he had ſent to Leonatus in Phrygia, and to Craterus in Cilicia, to ſolicit their aſſiſtance; but before the arrival of the expected ſuccours, he marched at the head of only 13,000 Macedonians and 600 horſe; the frequent recruits which he had ſent Alexander, having left him no more troops in all the country.

It is ſurpriſing that Antipater ſhould attempt to give battle to the united forces of all Greece with ſuch a handful of men; but he undoubtedly imagined, that the Greeks were no longer actuated by their ancient zeal and ardour for liberty, and that they ceaſed to conſider it as ſuch an ineſtimable advantage, as ought to inſpire them with a reſolution to venture their lives and fortunes for its preſervation. He flattered himſelf that they had begun to familiarize themſelves with ſubjection; and indeed this was the diſpoſition of the Greeks at that time; in whom appeared no longer the deſcendants of thoſe who had ſo gallantly ſuſtained all the efforts of the Eaſt, and fought a million of men for the preſervation of their freedom.

Antipater advanced towards Theſſaly, and was followed by his fleet, which cruized along the ſea-coaſt. It conſiſted of 110 triremes, or galleys of three benches of oars. The Theſſalians declared at firſt in his favour; but having afterwards changed their ſentiments, they joined the Athenians, and ſupplied them with a great body of horſe.

As the army of the Athenians and their allies was much more numerous than that of the Macedonians, Antipater could not ſupport the charge, and was defeated in the firſt battle. As he durſt not hazard a ſecond, and was in no condition to make a ſafe retreat into Macedonia, he ſhut himſelf up in Lamia, a ſmall city in Theſſaly, in order to wait for the ſuccours that were to be tranſmitted to him from Aſia, and he fortified himſelf in that place, which was ſoon beſieged by the Athenians.

The aſſault was carried on with great bravery againſt the town, and the reſiſtance was equally vigorous. Leoſthenes, after ſeveral attempts, deſpairing to carry it by force, changed the ſiege into a blockade, in order to conquer the place by famine. He ſurrounded it with a wall of circumvallation, and a very deep

ditch, and by these means cut off all supplies of provision. The city soon became sensible of the growing scarcity, and the besieged began to be seriously disposed to surrender; when Leosthenes, in a sally they made upon him, received a considerable wound, which rendered it necessary for him to be carried to his tent: upon which the command of the army was consigned to Antiphilus, who was equally esteemed by the troops for his valour and ability.

* Leonatus, in the mean time, was marching to the assistance of the Macedonians besieged in Lamia, and was commissioned, as well as Antigonus, by an agreement made between the generals, to establish Eumenes in Cappadocia by force of arms; but they took other measures, in consequence of some particular views. Leonatus, who reposed an entire confidence in Eumenes, declared to him at parting, that the engagement to assist Antipater was a mere pretext, and that his real intention was to advance into Greece, in order to make himself master of Macedonia. He at the same time showed him letters from Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander, who invited him to come to Pella, and promised to espouse him. Leonatus being arrived within a little distance of Lamia, marched directly to the enemy, with 20,000 foot and 2,500 horse. Prosperity had introduced disorders in the Grecian army; several parties of soldiers drew off, and retired into their own country on various pretexts, which greatly diminished the number of the troops, who were now reduced to 22,000 foot. The cavalry amounted to 3,500, 2000 of whom were Thessalians; and as they constituted the main strength of the army, so all hopes of success were founded in them; and accordingly, when the battle was fought, this body of horse had the greatest share of the victory that was obtained. They were commanded by Menon. Leonatus, covered with wounds, lost his life in the field of battle, and was conveyed into the camp by his troops. The Macedonian phalanx greatly dreaded the shock of the cavalry, and had therefore retreated to eminences inaccessible to the pursuit of the Thessalians. The Greeks having carried off their dead, erected a trophy, and retired.

† The whole conversation at Athens turned upon the glorious exploits of Leosthenes, who survived his honours but a short time. An universal joy spread through the city, festivals were celebrated, and sacrifices offered without intermission, to testify their gratitude to the gods for all the advantages they had obtained.

* A. M. 3681. Ant. J. C. 322. Plut. in Eumen. p. 584.
† Plut. in Phoc. p. 752.

The

The enemies of Phocion thinking to mortify him in the moſt ſenſible manner, and reduce him to an incapacity of juſtifying his conſtant oppoſition to that war, aſked him if he would not have rejoiced to have performed ſo many glorious actions? "Undoubtedly I would," replied Phocion; "but I would not, at the "ſame time, have neglected to offer the advice I gave*." He did not think, that a judgment ought to be formed of any particular counſel from mere ſucceſs, but rather from the nature and ſolidity of the counſel itſelf; and he did not retract his ſentiments, becauſe thoſe of an oppoſite nature had been ſucceſsful, which only proved the latter more fortunate, but not more judicious. And as theſe agreeable advices came thick upon each other, Phocion, who was apprehenſive of the ſequel, cried out, "When "ſhall we ceaſe to conquer then?"

Antipater was obliged to ſurrender by capitulation, but hiſtory has not tranſmitted to us the conditions of the treaty. The event only makes it evident, that Leoſthenes compelled him to ſurrender at diſcretion, and he himſelf died a few days after of the wounds he had received at the ſiege. Antipater having quitted Lamia the day after the battle (for he ſeems to have been favourably treated), joined the remains of the army of Leonatus, and took upon him the command of thoſe troops. He was extremely cautious of hazarding a ſecond battle, and kept with his troops, like a judicious and experienced general, on eminences inacceſſible to the enemy's cavalry. Antiphilus, the general of the Greeks, remained with his troops in Theſſaly, and contented himſelf with obſerving the motions of Antipater.

Clitus, who commanded the Macedonian fleet, obtained, much about the ſame time, two victories, near the iſlands of Echinades, over Ection the admiral of the Athenian navy.

† Craterus, who had been long expected, arrived at laſt in Theſſaly, and halted at the river Peneus. He reſigned the command to Antipater, and was contented to ſerve under him. The troops he had brought thither amounted, in conjunction with thoſe of Leonatus, to above 40,000 foot, 3000 archers or ſlingers, and 5000 horſe. The army of the allies was much inferior to theſe troops in number, and conſiſted of no more than 25,000 foot, and 3,500 horſe. Military diſcipline had been much neglected among them, after the victories they had obtained. A

* Non damnavit quod recte viderat, quia, quod alius male conſulerat, bene ceſſerat: felicius hoc exiſtimans, illud etiam ſapientius. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 8.

† Diod. l. xviii. p. 599—602.

conſiderable battle was fought near Cranon, in which the Greeks were defeated; they however loſt but few troops, and even that diſadvantage was occaſioned by the licentious conduct of the ſoldiers, and the ſmall authority of the chiefs, who were incapable of inforcing obedience to their commands.

Antiphilus and Menon, the two generals of the Grecian army, aſſembled a council the next day, to deliberate, whether they ſhould wait the return of thoſe troops who had retired into their own country, or propoſe terms of accommodation to the enemy. The council declared in favour of the latter; upon which deputies were immediately diſpatched to the enemy's camp in the name of all the allies. Antipater replied, that he would enter into a ſeparate treaty with each of the cities, perſuading himſelf that he ſhould facilitate the accompliſhment of his deſigns by this proceeding; and he was not deceived in his opinion. His anſwer broke off the negociation; and the moment he preſented himſelf before the cities of the allies, they diſbanded their troops, and ſurrendered up their liberties in the moſt puſillanimous manner, each city being ſolely attentive to its ſeparate advantage.

This circumſtance is a ſufficient confirmation of what I have formerly obſerved with relation to the preſent diſpoſition of the people of Greece. They were no longer animated with the noble zeal of thoſe ancient aſſerters of liberty, who devoted their whole attention to the good of the public, and the glory of the nation; who conſidered the danger of their neighbours and allies as their own, and marched with the utmoſt expedition to their aſſiſtance upon the firſt ſignal of their diſtreſs. Whereas now, if a formidable enemy appeared at the gates of Athens, all the republics of Greece had neither activity nor vigour; Peloponneſus continued without motion, and Sparta was as little heard of as if ſhe had never exiſted. Unhappy effects of the mutual jealouſy which thoſe people had conceived againſt each other, and of their diſregard to the common liberty, in conſequence of a fatal lethargy, into which they were ſunk amidſt the greateſt dangers! Theſe are ſymptoms which prognoſticate and prepare the way for approaching decline and ruin.

*Antipater improved this deſertion to his own advantage, and marched immediately to Athens, which ſaw herſelf abandoned by all her allies, and conſequently in no condition to defend herſelf againſt a potent and victorious enemy. Before he entered the city, Demoſthenes, and all thoſe of his party, who may be conſidered as the laſt true Greeks, and the defenders of expiring li-

* Plut. in Phoc. p. 753, 754.

berty,

berty, retired from that place; and the people, in order to transfer upon thoſe great men the reproach reſulting from their declaration of war againſt Antipater, and likewiſe to obtain his good graces, condemned them to die by a decree which Demades prepared. The reader has not forgot, that theſe are the ſame people who had lately recalled Demoſthenes by a decree ſo much for his honour, and had received him in triumph.

The ſame Demades procured a ſecond decree for ſending ambaſſadors to Antipater, who was then at Thebes, and that they ſhould be inveſted with full powers to negotiate a treaty of peace with him. Phocion himſelf was at their head; and the conqueror declared, that he expected the Athenians ſhould entirely ſubmit the terms to his regulation, in the manner as he himſelf had acted, when he was beſieged in the city of Lamia, and had conformed to the capitulation impoſed upon him by Leoſthenes their general.

Phocion returned to acquaint the Athenians with this anſwer, and they were compelled to acquieſce in the conditions, as rigid as they might appear. He then came back to Thebes with the reſt of the ambaſſadors, with whom Xenocrates had been aſſociated, in hopes that the appearance alone of ſo celebrated a philoſopher would inſpire Antipater with reſpect, and induce him to pay homage to his virtue. But ſurely they muſt have been little acquainted with the heart of man, and particularly with the violent and inhuman diſpoſition of Antipater, to be capable of flattering themſelves, that an enemy, with whom they had been engaged in an open war, would renounce his advantage through any inducement of reſpect for the virtue of a ſingle man, or in conſequence of an harangue uttered by a philoſopher who had declared againſt him. Antipater would not even condeſcend to caſt his eyes upon him; and when he was preparing to enter upon the conference (for he was commiſſioned to be the ſpeaker on this occaſion), he interrupted him in a very abrupt manner; and perceiving that he continued in his diſcourſe, commanded him to be ſilent. But he did not treat Phocion in the ſame manner; for after he had attended to his diſcourſe, he replied; "That he "was diſpoſed to contract a friendſhip and alliance with the Athe- "nians on the following conditions: They ſhould deliver up De- "moſthenes and Hyperides to him; the government ſhould be "reſtored to its ancient plan, by which all employments in the "ſtate were to be conferred upon the rich; that they ſhould re- "ceive a garriſon into the port of Munychia; that they ſhould "defray all the expences of the war, and alſo a large ſum, the "amount of which ſhould be ſettled." Thus, according to Dio-

dorus, none but thoſe whoſe yearly income exceeded 2000 drachms, were to be admitted into any ſhare of the government for the future, or to have any right to vote. Antipater intended to make himſelf abſolute maſter of Athens by this regulation, being very ſenſible, that the rich men who enjoyed public employments, and had large revenues, would become his dependents much more effectually than a poor and deſpicable populace, who had nothing to loſe, and would be only guided by their own caprice.

All the ambaſſadors but Xenocrates were well contented with theſe conditions, which they thought were very moderate, conſidering their preſent ſituation; but that philoſopher judged otherwiſe. "They are very moderate for ſlaves," ſaid he, "but extremely ſevere for free men."

The Athenians were therefore compelled to receive into Munychia a Macedonian garriſon, commanded by Menyllus, a man of probity, and by ſome of Phocion's particular friends. The troops took poſſeſſion of the place during the feſtival of the Great myſteries, and the very day on which it was uſual to carry the god Iacchus in proceſſion from the city to Eleuſina. This was a melancholy conjuncture for the Athenians, and affected them with the moſt ſenſible affliction. "Alas!" ſaid they, when they compared paſt times with thoſe they then ſaw, "the gods, amidſt "our greateſt adverſities, would formerly manifeſt themſelves in "our favour during their ſacred ceremonial, by myſtic viſions and "audible voices, to the great aſtoniſhment of our enemies, who "were terrified by them. But now, when we are even celebrating the ſame ſolemnities, they caſt an unpitying eye on the "greateſt calamities that can happen to Greece: They behold "the moſt ſacred of all days in the year, and that which is moſt "agreeable to us, polluted and diſtinguiſhed by the moſt dreadful "of calamities, which will even tranſmit its name to this ſacred "time through all ſucceeding generations."

The garriſon, commanded by Menyllus, did not offer the leaſt injury to any of the inhabitants, but there were more than 12,000 of them excluded from employments in the ſtate, by one of the ſtipulations in the treaty, in conſequence of their poverty. Some of theſe unfortunate perſons continued in Athens, and lingered out a wretched life, amidſt the contemptuous treatment they had juſtly drawn upon themſelves; for the generality of them were ſeditious and mercenary in their diſpoſitions, had neither virtue nor juſtice, but flattered themſelves with a falſe idea of liberty, which they were incapable of uſing aright, and had no knowledge of either its bounds, duties, or end. The other poor citizens

tizens departed from the city, in order to avoid that opprobrious condition, and retired into Thrace, where Antipater assigned them a city and lands for their habitation.

*Demetrius Phalereus was obliged to have recourse to flight, and retired to Nicanor; but Cassander, the son of Antipater, reposed much confidence in him, and made him governor of Munychia after the death of his father, as will appear immediately. This Demetrius had been not only the disciple, but the intimate friend of the celebrated Theophrastus; and, under the conduct of so learned a master, had perfected his natural genius for eloquence, and rendered himself expert in philosophy, politics, and history. †He was in great esteem at Athens, and began to enter upon the administration of affairs, when Harpalus arrived there, after he had declared against Alexander. He was obliged to quit that city at the time we have mentioned, and was soon after condemned there, though absent, under a vain pretext of irreligion.

‡The whole weight of Antipater's displeasure fell chiefly upon Demosthenes, Hyperides, and some other Athenians, who had been their adherents: And when he was informed that they had eluded his vengeance by flight, he dispatched a body of men with orders to seize them, and placed one Archias at their head, who had formerly played in tragedies. This man having found at Ægina, the orator Hyperides, Aristonicus of Marathon, and Hymereus the brother of Demetrius Phalereus, who had all three taken sanctuary in the temple of Ajax, he dragged them from their asylum, and sent them to Antipater, who was then at Cleones, where he condemned them to die. Some authors have even declared, that he caused the tongue of Hyperides to be cut out.

The fame Archias having received intelligence, that Demosthenes, who had retired into the island of Calauria, was become a supplicant in the temple of Neptune, he sailed thither in a small vessel, and landed with some Thracian soldiers: after which he spared no pains to persuade Demosthenes to accompany him to Antipater, assuring him, that he should receive no injury. Demosthenes was too well acquainted with mankind to rely on his promises; and was sensible that venal souls, who have hired themselves into the service of iniquity, those infamous ministers in the execution of orders equally cruel and unjust, have as little regard to sincerity and truth as their masters. To prevent therefore his

* Athen. l. xii. p. 542.

† Diog. in Laert. in Demetr.

‡ Plut. in Demost. p. 859, 860.

falling

falling into the hand of a tyrant, who would have ſatiated his fury upon him, he ſwallowed poiſon, which he always carried about him, and which ſoon produced its effect. When he found his ſtrength declining, he advanced a few ſteps, by the aid of ſome domeſtics who ſupported him, and fell down dead at the foot of the altar.

The Athenians, ſoon after this event, erected a ſtatue of braſs to his memory, as a teſtimonial of their gratitude and eſteem, and made a decree, that the eldeſt branch of his family ſhould be brought up in the Prytaneum, at the public expence, from generation to generation; and at the foot of the ſtatue they engraved this inſcription, which was couched in two Elegiac verſes: "Demoſthenes, if thy power had been equal to thy wiſdom, the "Macedonian Mars would never have triumphed over Greece." What regard is to be entertained for the judgment of a people, who were capable of being hurried into ſuch oppoſite extremes, and who one day paſſed ſentence of death on a citizen, and loaded him with honours and applauſe the next!

What I have already ſaid of Demoſthenes, on ſeveral occaſions, makes it unneceſſary to enlarge upon his character in this place. He was not only a great orator, but an accompliſhed ſtateſman. His views were noble and exalted; his zeal was not to be intimidated by any conjunctures, wherein the honour and intereſt of his country were concerned; he firmly retained an irreconcileable averſion to all meaſures which had any reſemblance to tyranny, and his love for liberty was ſuch as may be imagined in a republican, as implacable an enemy to all ſervitude and dependency as ever lived. A wonderful ſagacity of mind enabled him to penetrate into future events, and preſented them to his view with as much perſpicuity, though remote, as if they had been actually preſent. He ſeemed as much acquainted with all the deſigns of Philip, as if he had been admitted into a participation of his counſels; and if the Athenians had followed his counſels, that prince would not have attained that height of power, which proved deſtructive to Greece, as Demoſthenes had frequently foretold.

* He was perfectly acquainted with the diſpoſition of Philip, and was very far from praiſing him, like the generality of orators. Two colleagues, with whom he was aſſociated in an embaſſy to that prince, were continually praiſing the king of Macedonia, at their return, and ſaying, that he was a very eloquent and amiable prince, and a moſt extraordinary drinker. "What ſtrange com-"mendations are theſe?" replied Demoſthenes. "The firſt is the

* Plut. in Demoſt. p. 853.

"accom-

" accompliſhment of a rhetorician; the ſecond of a woman; and " the third of a ſponge; but none of them the praiſe of a " king."

With relation to eloquence, nothing can be added to what Quintilian has obſerved, in the parallel he has drawn between Demoſthenes and Cicero. After he has ſhown, that the great and eſſential qualities of an orator are common to them both, he marks out the particular difference obſervable between them with reſpect to ſtyle and elocution. " The one *," ſays he, " is more preciſe, the other more luxuriant. The one crowds " all his forces into a ſmaller compaſs when he attacks his ad- " verſary, the other chuſes a larger field for the aſſault. The " one always endeavours in a manner to transfix him with the " vivacity of his ſtyle, the other frequently overwhelms him " with the weight of his diſcourſe. Nothing can be retrench- " ed from the one, and nothing can be added to the other. In " Demoſthenes we diſcover more labour and ſtudy, in Cicero " more nature and genius."

† I have elſewhere obſerved another difference between theſe two great orators, which I beg leave to inſert in this place. That which characterizes Demoſthenes more than any other circumſtance, and in which he has never been imitated, is ſuch an abſolute oblivion of himſelf, and ſo ſcrupulous and conſtant a ſolicitude to ſuppreſs all oſtentation of wit: In a word, ſuch a perpetual care to confine the attention of the auditor to the cauſe, and not to the orator, that he never ſuffers any one turn of thought or expreſſion to eſcape him, from no other view than merely to pleaſe and ſhine. This reſerve and moderation in ſo amiable a genius as Demoſthenes, and in matters ſo ſuſceptible of grace and eloquence, adds perfection to his merit, and renders him ſuperior to all praiſes.

Cicero was ſenſible of all the eſtimation due to the eloquence of Demoſthenes, and experienced all its force and beauty. But as he was perſuaded, that an orator, when he is engaged in any points that are not ſtrictly eſſential, ought to form his ſtyle by the taſte of his audience; and did not believe, that the genius of his times was conſiſtent with ſuch a rigid exactneſs; he therefore judged it neceſſary to accommodate himſelf in ſome meaſure to the ears and delicacy of his auditors, who required more grace

* In eloquendo eſt aliqua diverſitas. Denſior ille, hic copioſior. Ille concludit aſtrictius, hic latius pugnat. Ille acumine ſemper, hic frequenter et pondere. Illi nihil detrahi poteſt, huic nihil adjici. Curæ plus in illo, in hoc naturæ. Quintil. l. x. c. 1.

† In the diſcourſe on the Eloquence of the Bar.

and

and elegance in his diſcourſe. For this reaſon he had ſome regard to the agreeable, but, at the ſame time, never loſt ſight of any important point in the cauſe he pleaded. He even thought that this qualified him for promoting the intereſt of his country, and was not miſtaken, as to pleaſe is one of the moſt certain means of perſuading: But at the ſame time he laboured for his own reputation, and never forgot himſelf.

The death of Demoſthenes and Hyperides cauſed the Athenians to regret the reigns of Philip and Alexander, and recalled to their remembrance the magnaminity, generoſity, and clemency, which theſe two princes retained, even amidſt the emotions of their diſpleaſure: and how inclinable they had always been to pardon offences, and treat their enemies with humanity. Whereas Antipater, under the maſk of a private man in a bad cloak, with all the appearances of a plain and frugal life, and without affecting any title of authority, diſcovered himſelf to be a rigid and imperious maſter.

Antipater was however prevailed upon, by the prayers of Phocion, to recall ſeveral perſons from baniſhment, notwithſtanding all the ſeverity of his diſpoſition; and there is reaſon to believe, that Demetrius was one of this number. At leaſt, it is certain that he had a conſiderable ſhare in the adminiſtration of the republic from that time. As for thoſe whoſe recall to Athens Phocion was unable to obtain, he procured for them more commodious ſituations, that were not ſo remote as their former ſettlements: and took his meaſures ſo effectually, that they were not baniſhed according to the firſt ſentence, beyond the Ceraunian mountains and the promontory of Tenares; by which means they did not live ſequeſtered from the pleaſures of Greece, but obtained a ſettlement in Peloponneſus. Who can help admiring, on the one hand, the amiable and generous diſpoſition of Phocion, who employed his credit with Antipater, in order to procure a ſet of unfortunate perſons ſome alleviation of their calamities; and, on the other hand, a kind of humanity in a prince, who was not very deſirous of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by that quality, but was ſenſible, however, that it would be extremely rigid in him to add new mortifications to the inconveniences of baniſhment.

Antipater in other reſpects exerciſed his government with great juſtice and moderation, over thoſe who continued in Athens; he beſtowed the principal poſts and employments on ſuch perſons as he imagined were the moſt virtuous and honeſt men; and contented himſelf with removing from all authority, ſuch as he thought were moſt likely to excite troubles. He was ſenſible, that this people

people could neither ſupport a ſtate of abſolute ſervitude, nor the enjoyment of entire liberty; for which reaſon he thought it neceſſary to take from the one, whatever was too rigid; and from the other, all that it had of exceſſive and licentious.

The conqueror, after ſo glorious a compaign, ſet out for Macedonia, to celebrate the nuptials of his daughter Phila with Craterus, and the ſolemnity was performed with all imaginable grandeur. Phila was one of the moſt accompliſhed princeſſes of her age, and her beauty was the leaſt part of her merit. The luſtre of her charms was heightened by the ſweetneſs and modeſty that ſoftened her aſpect, by an air of complacency, and a natural diſpoſition to oblige, which won the hearts of all who beheld her. Theſe engaging qualities were rendered ſtill more amiable by the brightneſs of a ſuperior genius, and a prudence uncommon in her ſex, which made her capable of the greateſt affairs. It is even ſaid, that, young as ſhe then was, her father Antipater, who was one of the moſt able politicians of his age, never engaged in any affair of importance without conſulting her. This princeſs never made uſe of the influence ſhe had over her two huſbands (for after the death of Craterus, ſhe eſpouſed Demetrius the ſon of Antigonus), but to procure ſome favour for the officers, their daughters, or ſiſters. If they were poor, ſhe furniſhed them with portions for their marriage; and if they were ſo unhappy as to be calumniated, ſhe herſelf was very active in their juſtification. So generous a liberality gave her an abſolute power among the troops. All cabals were diſſolved by her preſence, and all revolts gave way, and were appeaſed by her conduct.

## SECTION III.

PROCESSION OF ALEXANDER'S FUNERAL.—PTOLEMY, CRATERUS, ANTIPATER, AND ANTIGONUS, CONFEDERATE AGAINST EACH OTHER.

MUCH about this time * the † funeral obſequies of Alexander were performed. Aridæus having been deputed by all the governors and grandees of the kingdom, to take upon himſelf the care of that ſolemnity, had employed two years in preparing every thing that could poſſibly render it the moſt pompous and auguſt funeral

* A. M. 3683. Ant. J. C. 321. Diod. l. xviii. p. 608—610.

† I could have wiſhed it had been in my power to have explained ſeveral paſſages of this deſcription in a more clear and intelligible manner than I have done; but that was not poſſible for me to effect, though I had recourſe to perſons of greater capacity than myſelf.

that

that had ever been ſeen. When all things were ready for the celebration of this mournful but ſuperb ceremonial, orders were given for the proceſſion to begin. This was preceded by a great number of pioneers and other workmen, whoſe office was to make all the ways practicable, through which the proceſſion was to paſs.

As ſoon as theſe were levelled, that magnificent chariot, the invention and deſign of which raiſed as much admiration as the immenſe riches that glittered all over it, ſet out from Babylon. The body of the chariot reſted upon two axle-trees, that were inſerted into four wheels, made after the Perſian manner; the naves and ſpokes of which were covered with gold, and the rounds plated over with iron. The extremities of the axle-trees were made of gold, repreſenting the muſcles of lions biting a dart. The chariot had four draught beams, or poles, to each of which were harnaſſed four ſets of mules, each ſet conſiſting of four of thoſe animals; ſo that this chariot was drawn by 64 mules. The ſtrongeſt of thoſe creatures, and the largeſt, were choſen on this occaſion. They were adorned with crowns of gold, and collars enriched with precious ſtones and golden bells.

On this chariot was erected a pavilion of entire gold, twelve feet wide, and eighteen in length, ſupported by columns of the Ionic order, embelliſhed with the leaves of acanthus. The inſide was adorned with a blaze of jewels, diſpoſed in the form of ſhells. The circumference was beautified with a fringe of golden-net work; the threads that compoſed the texture were an inch in thickneſs, and to thoſe were faſtened large bells, whoſe ſound was heard to a great diſtance.

The external decorations were diſpoſed into four relievos.

The firſt repreſented Alexander ſeated in a military chariot, with a ſplendid ſceptre in his hand, and ſurrounded on one ſide, with a troop of Macedonians in arms; and on the other, with an equal number of Perſians armed in their manner. Theſe were preceded by the king's equerries.

In the ſecond were ſeen elephants completely harnaſſed, with a band of Indians ſeated on the fore-part of their bodies; and on the hinder, another band of Macedonians, armed as in the day of battle.

The third exhibited to the view ſeveral ſquadrons of horſe ranged in military array.

The fourth repreſented ſhips preparing for a battle.

At the entrance into the pavilion were golden lions, that ſeemed to guard the paſſage.

The four corners were adorned with ſtatues of gold, repreſenting victories with trophies of arms in their hands.

Under

Under the pavilion was placed a throne of gold of a ſquare form, adorned with the heads of animals*, whoſe necks were encompaſſed with golden circles a foot and a half in breadth; to theſe were hung crowns that glittered with the livelieſt colours, and ſuch as were carried in proceſſion at the celebration of ſacred ſolemnities.

At the foot of the throne was placed the coffin of Alexander, formed of beaten gold, and half filled with aromatic ſpices and perfumes, as well to exhale an agreeable odour, as for the preſervation of the corpſe. A pall of purple wrought with gold covered the coffin.

Between this and the throne the arms of that monarch were diſpoſed in the manner he wore them while living.

The outſide of the pavilion was likewiſe covered with purple flowered with gold. The top ended in a very large crown of the ſame metal, which ſeemed to be a compoſition of olive branches. The rays of the ſun which darted on this diadem, in conjunction with the motion of the chariot, cauſed it to emit a kind of rays like thoſe of lightning.

It may eaſily be imagined, that in ſo long a proceſſion, the motion of a chariot, loaded like this, would be liable to great inconveniencies. In order, therefore, that the pavilion, with all its appendages, might, when the chariot moved in any uneven ways, conſtantly continue in the ſame ſituation, notwithſtanding the inequality of the ground, and the ſhocks that would frequently be unavoidable, a cylinder was raiſed from the middle of each axletree, to ſupport the pavilion; by which expedient the whole machine was preſerved ſteady.

The chariot was followed by the royal guards, all in arms, and magnificently arrayed.

The multitude of ſpectators of this ſolemnity is hardly credible; but they were drawn together as well by their veneration for the memory of Alexander, as by the magnificence of this funeral pomp, which had never been equalled in the world.

There was a current prediction, that the place where Alexander ſhould be interred would be rendered the moſt happy and flouriſhing part of the whole earth. The governors conteſted with each other, for the diſpoſal of a body that was to be attended with ſuch a glorious prerogative. The affection Perdiccas entertained for his country, made him deſirous, that the corpſe ſhould be conveyed to Ægæ in Macedonia, where the remains of

* The Greek word τραγέλαφος imports a kind of hart, from whoſe chin a beard hangs down like that of goats.

its kings were depoſited. Other places were likewiſe propoſed, but the preference was given to Egypt. Ptolemy, who had ſuch extraordinary and recent obligations to the king of Macedonia, was determined to ſignalize his gratitude on this occaſion. He accordingly ſet out with a numerous guard of his beſt troops, in order to meet the proceſſion, and advanced as far as Syria. When he had joined the attendants on the funeral, he prevented them from interring the corpſe in the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, as they had propoſed. It was therefore depoſited, firſt in the city of Memphis, and from thence was conveyed to Alexandria. Ptolemy raiſed a magnificent temple to the memory of this monarch, and rendered him all the honours which were uſually paid to demi-gods and heroes by pagan antiquity.

* Freinſhemius, in his ſupplement to Livy, relates after Leo the African†, that the tomb of Alexander the Great was ſtill to be ſeen in his time, and that it was reverenced by the Mohammedans, as the monument not only of an illuſtrious king, but of a great prophet.

‡Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, which border on the Pontic ſea, were allotted to Eumenes, in conſequence of the partition of the ſeveral governments of Alexander's empire; and it was expreſsly ſtipulated by the treaty, that Leonatus and Antigonus ſhould march with a great body of troops to eſtabliſh Eumenes in the government of thoſe dominions, and diſpoſſeſs king Ariarathes of the ſovereignty. This general reſolution of ſending troops and experienced commanders into the ſeveral provinces of the empire, was formed with great judgment; and the intention of it was, that all thoſe conquered territories ſhould continue under the dominion of the Macedonians, and that the inhabitants, being no longer governed by their own ſovereigns, ſhould have no future inclination to recover their former liberty, nor be in a condition to ſet each other the example of throwing off the new yoke of the Greeks.

But neither Leonatus nor Antigonus were very ſolicitous to execute this article of the treaty: and, as they were entirely attentive to their own particular intereſt and aggrandizement, they took other meaſures. Eumenes, ſeeing himſelf thus abandoned by thoſe who ought to have eſtabliſhed him in his government, ſet out with all his equipage, which conſiſted of 300 horſe and 200 of his domeſtics well armed, with all his riches, which amounted to about 5000 talents of gold, and retired to Perdiccas, who gave

* Lib. cxxxiii. † This author lived in the 15th century.
‡ Plut. in Eumen. p. 584. Diod. l. xviii. p. 599.

him

him a favourable reception. As he was much eſteemed by that commander, he was admitted into a participation of all his counſels. Eumenes was indeed a man of great ſolidity and reſolution, and the moſt able of all the captains of Alexander.

Within a ſhort time after this event, he was conducted into Cappadocia by a great army which Perdiccas thought fit to command in perſon. Ariarathes had made the neceſſary preparations for a vigorous defence, and had raiſed 20,000 foot and a great body of horſe: but he was defeated and taken priſoner by Perdiccas, who deſtroyed his whole family, and inveſted Eumenes with the government of his dominions. He intended, by this inſtance of ſeverity, to intimidate the people, and extinguiſh all ſeditions: and this conduct is very judicious, and abſolutely neceſſary in the conjuncture of a new government, when the ſtate is in a general ferment, and all things are uſually diſpoſed for commotions. Perdiccas, after this tranſaction, advanced with his troops to chaſtiſe Iſaura and Laranda, cities of Piſidia, which had maſſacred their governors, and revolted from the Macedonians. The laſt of theſe cities was deſtroyed in a very ſurpriſing manner: for the inhabitants finding themſelves in no condition to defend it, and deſpairing of any quarter from the conqueror, ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, with their wives, children, and parents, and all their gold and ſilver, ſet fire to their ſeveral habitations, and, after they had fought with the fury of lions, threw themſelves into the flames. The city was abandoned to plunder; and the ſoldiers, after they had extinguiſhed the fire, found a very great booty, for the place was filled with riches.

* Perdiccas, after this expedition, marched into Cilicia, where he paſſed the winter ſeaſon. During his reſidence in that country, he formed the reſolution to divorce Nicea, the daughter of Antipater, whom he had eſpouſed at a time when he thought that marriage ſubſervient to his intereſt. But when the regency of the empire had given him a ſuperior credit, and given birth to more exalted hopes, his thoughts took a different turn, and he was deſirous of eſpouſing Cleopatra, the ſiſter of Alexander the Great. She had been married to Alexander king of Epirus; and, having loſt her huſband in the wars of Italy, ſhe had continued in a ſtate of widowhood, and was then at Sardis in Lydia. Perdiccas diſpatched Eumenes thither, to propoſe his marriage to that princeſs, and employ his endeavours to render it agreeable to her. This alliance with a lady who was the ſiſter of Alexander by the ſame father and mother, and exceedingly beloved by the

* A. M. 3683. Ant. J. C. 321. Diod. p. 606—609.

Macedonians, opened him a way to the empire through the favour of that people, which he might naturally expect from his marriage with Cleopatra.

Antigonus penetrated into his design, and evidently foresaw that his own destruction was to be the foundation of the intended success. He therefore passed into Greece with the greatest expedition, in order to find Antipater and Craterus, who were then engaged in a war with the Ætolians, and disclosed to them the whole plan that Perdiccas had formed. Upon this intelligence, they immediately came to an accommodation with the Ætolians, and advanced towards the Hellespont, to observe the motions of the new enemy; and, in order to strengthen their own party, they engaged Ptolemy, governor of Egypt, in their interest.

Craterus, one of the greatest of Alexander's captains, had the largest share of the affection and esteem of the Macedonians. Alexander, a little before his death, had ordered him to conduct into Macedonia the 10,000 veteran troops he intended to send thither, on account of their age, wounds, or other infirmities, which rendered them incapable of the service. The king had likewise conferred upon him at the same time the government of Macedonia in the room of Antipater, whom he recalled to Babylon. These provinces having been consigned to Craterus and Antipater after the death of Alexander, they governed them in concert, and Craterus always conducted himself like a good and faithful associate; especially in the operations of this war, in which they were unavoidably engaged by the discovery of the designs Perdiccas was forming.

Perdiccas sent Eumenes back to his province, not only to regulate the state of affairs in that country, but more particularly to keep a watchful eye on the motions of Neoptolemus his next neighbour, who was governor of Armenia, and whose conduct was suspected by Perdiccas, but not without sufficient reason, as will be evident in the sequel.

* This Neoptolemus was a man remarkable for his stupid pride, and the insupportable arrogance he had contracted, from the vain hopes with which he fed his imagination. Eumenes endeavoured to reduce him to reason by gentle measures; and when he saw that the troops of the Macedonian phalanx, who were commanded by Neoptolemus, were grown very insolent and audacious, he made it his care to assemble a body of horse strong enough to oppose their designs, and keep them within the bounds of respect and obedience. With this view he granted all sorts of immunities

* Plut. in Eumen. p. 585.

and

and exemptions from impoſts to thoſe of the inhabitants who were in a condition to appear on horſeback. He likewiſe purchaſed a great number of horſes, and beſtowed them on thoſe of his court in whom he confided the moſt; and inflamed their courage by the honours and rewards he conferred upon them. He diſciplined and habituated them to labour and fatigue by reviews, exerciſes, and continual movements. Every body was ſurpriſed to ſee him aſſemble, in ſo ſhort a time, a body of 6000 horſe, capable of good ſervice in the field.

Perdiccas, having cauſed all his troops to file off the next ſpring towards Cappadocia, held a council with his friends on the operations of the intended war. The ſubject of their deliberations was, whether they ſhould march firſt into Macedonia againſt Antipater and Craterus, or into Egypt againſt Ptolemy. The majority of voices declared in favour of the laſt; and it was concluded, at the ſame time, that Eumenes, with part of the army, ſhould guard the Aſiatic provinces againſt Antipater and Craterus: and, in order to engage him more effectually to eſpouſe the common cauſe, Perdiccas added the provinces of Caria, Lycia, and Phrygia, to his government. He likewiſe declared him generaliſſimo of all the troops in Cappadocia and Armenia, and ordered all the governors to obey him. Perdiccas, after this, advanced towards Egypt through Damaſcene and Paleſtine. He alſo took the two minor kings with him in this expedition, in order to cover his deſigns with the royal authority.

* Eumenes ſpared no pains to have a good army on foot, in order to oppoſe Antipater and Craterus, who had already paſſed the Helleſpont, and were marching againſt him. They left nothing unattempted to diſengage him from the party he had eſpouſed, and promiſed him the addition of new provinces to thoſe he already poſſeſſed: but he was too ſteady † to be ſhaken by thoſe offers, in breach of his engagements to Perdiccas. They ſucceeded better with Alcetas and Neoptolemus, for they engaged the former to obſerve a neutrality, though the brother of Perdiccas, and the other declared in their favour. Eumenes attacked and defeated the latter at a narrow paſs, and even took all his baggage. This victory was owing to his cavalry, whom he had formed with ſo much care. Neoptolemus ſaved himſelf with 300 horſe, and joined Antipater and Craterus; but the reſt of his troops went over to Eumenes.

* Plut. in Eumen. p. 585—587. Diod. l. xviii. p. 610—613.

† Quem (Perdiccam) etſi infirmum videbat, quod unus omnibus reſiſtere cogebatur, amicum non deſeruit, neque ſalutis quam fidei fuit cupidior. Cor. Nep. in Eumen. c. 3.

Antipater entered Cilicia with an intention to advance into Egypt, in order to aſſiſt Ptolemy, if his affairs ſhould require his aid; and he detached Craterus and Neoptolemus with the reſt of his army againſt Eumenes, who was then in Cappadocia. A great battle was fought there, the ſucceſs of which was entirely to be aſcribed to the wiſe and vigilant precaution of Eumenes, which Plutarch juſtly conſiders as the maſter-piece of a great commander. The reputation of Craterus was very great, and the generality of the Macedonians were deſirous of him for their leader after the death of Alexander, remembering that his affection for them, and his deſire to ſupport their intereſt, had cauſed him to incur the diſpleaſure of that prince. Neoptolemus had flattered him, that as ſoon as he ſhould appear in the field, all the Macedonians of the oppoſite party would liſt themſelves under his banners, and Eumenes himſelf was very apprehenſive of that event. But, in order to avoid this misfortune, which would have occaſioned his inevitable ruin, he cauſed the avenues and narrow paſſes to be ſo carefully guarded, that his army were entirely ignorant of the enemy againſt whom he was leading them, having cauſed a report to be ſpread, that it was only Neoptolemus, who was preparing to attack him a ſecond time. In the diſpoſitions he made for the battle, he was careful not to oppoſe any Macedonian againſt Craterus, and iſſued an order, with very ſevere penalties, that no herald from the enemy ſhould be received on any account whatever.

The firſt charge was very rude; the lances were ſoon ſhivered on both ſides, and the two armies attacked ſword in hand. Craterus acted nothing to the diſhonour of Alexander on this laſt day of his life, for he killed ſeveral of the enemy with his own hand, and frequently bore down all who oppoſed him; till, at laſt, a Thracian wounded him in the flank, when he fell from his horſe. All the enemy's cavalry rode over him without knowing who he was, and did not diſcover him till he was breathing his laſt.

As to the other wing, Neoptolemus and Eumenes, who perſonally hated each other, having met in the battle, and their horſes charging with a violent ſhock, they ſeized each other; and their horſes ſpringing from under them, they both fell on the earth, where they ſtruggled like two implacable wreſtlers, and fought for a conſiderable time with the utmoſt fury and rage, till at laſt Neoptolemus received a mortal wound, and immediately expired.

Eumenes then remounted his horſe, and puſhed his left wing to that part of the field, where he believed the enemy's troops ſtill continued unbroken. There, when he was informed that Crate-

rus

rus was killed, he ſpurred his horſe to the place where he lay, and found him expiring. When he beheld this melancholy ſpectacle, he could not refuſe his tears to the death of an ancient friend, whom he had always eſteemed; and he cauſed the laſt honours to be paid him with all poſſible magnificence. He likewiſe ordered his bones to be conveyed to Macedonia, in order to be given to his wife and children. Eumenes gained this ſecond victory ten days after the firſt.

* In the mean time Perdiccas had advanced into Egypt, and began the war with Ptolemy, though with very different ſucceſs. Ptolemy, from the time he was conſtituted governor of that country, had conducted himſelf with ſo much juſtice and humanity, that he had entirely gained the hearts of all the Egyptians. An infinite number of people, charmed with the lenity of ſo wiſe an adminiſtration, came thither from Greece and other parts to enter into his ſervice. This additional advantage rendered him extremely powerful; and even the army of Perdiccas had ſo much eſteem for Ptolemy, that they marched with reluctance againſt him, and great numbers of them deſerted daily to his troops. All theſe circumſtances were fatal to the views of Perdiccas, and he loſt his own life in that country. Having unfortunately taken a reſolution to make his army paſs an arm of the Nile, which formed an iſland near Memphis, in paſſing he loſt 2000 men, half of whom were drowned, and the remainder devoured by crocodiles. The Macedonians were exaſperated to ſuch a degree of fury, when they ſaw themſelves expoſed to ſuch unneceſſary dangers, that they mutinied againſt him; in conſequence of which, he was abandoned by a hundred of his principal officers, of whom Pithon was the moſt conſiderable, and was aſſaſſinated in his tent with moſt of his intimate friends.

Two days after this event, the army received intelligence of the victory obtained by Eumenes; and had this account come two days ſooner, it would certainly have prevented the mutiny, and conſequently the revolution that ſoon ſucceeded it, which proved ſo favourable to Ptolemy and Antipater, and all their adherents.

## SECTION IV.

REGENCY TRANSFERRED TO ANTIPATER.—POLYSPERCHON SUCCEEDS HIM.—THE LATTER RECALS OLYMPIAS.

Ptolemy paſſed the Nile the day after the death of Perdiccas, and entered the Macedonian camp; where he juſtified his

* Diod. l. xviii. p. 613—616. Plut. in Eumen. p. 587. Cor. Nep. c. 5.

own

own conduct so effectually, that all the troops declared in his favour*. When the death of Craterus was known, he made such an artful improvement of their affliction and resentment, that he induced them to pass a decree, whereby Eumenes, and fifty other persons of the same party, were declared enemies to the Macedonian state; and this decree authorised Antipater and Antigonus to carry on a war against them. But when this prince perceived, the troops had a general inclination to offer him the regency of the two kings, which became vacant by the death of Perdiccas, he had the precaution to decline that office, because he was very sensible that the royal pupils had a title without a reality; that they would never be capable of sustaining the weight of that vast empire, nor be in a condition to reunite, under their authority, so many governments accustomed to independency; that there was an inevitable tendency to dismember the whole, as well from the inclinations and interest of the officers, as the situation of affairs; that all his acquisitions in the interim would redound to the advantage of his pupils; that while he appeared to possess the first rank, he should in reality enjoy nothing fixed and solid, or that could any way be considered as his own property; that, upon the expiration of the regency, he should be left without any government or real establishment, and that he should neither be master of an army to support him, nor of any retreat for his preservation: Whereas all his colleagues would enjoy the richest provinces in perfect tranquillity, and he be the only one who had not derived any advantages from the common conquests. These considerations induced him to prefer the post he already enjoyed to the new title that was offered him, as the former was less hazardous, and rendered him less obnoxious to envy: he therefore caused the choice to fall on Pithon and Aridæus.

The first of these persons had commanded with distinction in all the wars of Alexander, and had embraced the party of Perdiccas till he was a witness of his imprudent conduct in passing the Nile, which induced him to quit his service, and go over to Ptolemy.

With respect to Aridæus, history has taken no notice of him before the death of Alexander, when the funeral solemnities of that prince were committed to his care; and we have already seen in what manner he acquitted himself of that melancholy but honourable commission, after he had employed two years in the preparations for it.

The honour of this guardianship was of no long continuance to

* Diod. l. xviii. p. 616—619.

them.

them. Eurydice, the conſort of king Aridæus, whom we ſhall diſtinguiſh for the future by the name of Philip, being fond of interfering in all affairs, and being ſupported in her pretenſions by the Macedonians; the two regents were ſo diſſatisfied with their employment, that they voluntarily reſigned it, after they had ſent the army back to Triparadis in Syria; and it was then conferred upon Antipater.

As ſoon as he was inveſted with his authority, he made a new partition of the provinces of the empire, in which he excluded all thoſe who had eſpouſed the intereſt of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and re-eſtabliſhed every perſon of the other party, who had been diſpoſſeſſed. In this new diviſion of the empire, Seleucus, who had great authority from the command of the cavalry, as we have already intimated, had the government of Babylon, and became afterwards the moſt powerful of all the ſucceſſors of Alexander. Pithon had the government of Media; but Atropates, who at that time enjoyed the government of that province, ſupported himſelf in one part of the country, and aſſumed the regal dignity, without acknowledging the authority of the Macedonians: and this tract of Media was afterwards called Media Atropatena. Antipater, after this regulation of affairs, ſent Antigonus againſt Eumenes, and then returned into Macedonia; but left his ſon Caſſander behind him, in quality of general of the cavalry, and with orders to be near the perſon of Antigonus, that he might the better be informed of his deſigns.

* Jaddus, the high-prieſt of the Jews, died this year, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Onias, whoſe pontificate continued for the ſpace of 21 years. I make this remark, becauſe the hiſtory of the Jews will, in the ſequel of this work, be very much intermixed with that of Alexander's ſucceſſors.

† Antigonus appeared early in the field againſt Eumenes; and a battle was fought at Orcynium in Cappadocia, wherein Eumenes was defeated, and loſt 8000 men, by the treachery of Appollonides, one of the principal officers of his cavalry; who was corrupted by Antigonus, and marched over to the enemy in the midſt of the battle. ‡ The traitor was ſoon puniſhed for his perfidy, for Eumenes took him, and cauſed him to be hanged upon the ſpot.

§ A conjuncture, which happened ſoon after this defeat, would have enabled Eumenes to ſeize the baggage of Antigonus and all

* A. M. 3683. Ant. J. C. 321. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 8.
† A. M. 3684. Ant. J. C. 320. Diod. l. xviii. p. 618, 619.
‡ Plut. in Eumen. p. 588—590. § Cor. Nep. in Eumen. c. 5.

his

his riches, with a great number of prisoners; and his little troop already cast an eye on so considerable a booty. But whether his apprehensions that so rich a prey would enervate the heart of his soldiers, who were then constrained to wander from place to place; or whether his regard to Antigonus, with whom he had formerly contracted a particular friendship, prevented him from improving this opportunity; it is certain, that he sent a letter to that commander, to inform him of the danger that threatened him; and when he afterwards made a feint to attack the baggage, it was all removed to a place of security.

Eumenes, after his overthrow, was obliged, for his preservation, to employ most of his time in changing the place of his retreat; and he was daily admired for the tranquillity and steadiness of mind he discovered, in the wandering life to which he was reduced: for, as Plutarch observes, adversity alone can place greatness of soul in its full point of light, and render the real merit of mankind conspicuous; whereas prosperity frequently casts a veil of false grandeur over real meanness and imperfections. Eumenes, having at last disbanded most of his remaining troops, shut himself up, with 500 men, who were determined to share his fate, in the castle of Nora, a place of extraordinary strength on the frontiers of Cappadocia and Lycaonia, where he sustained a siege of twelve months.

He was soon sensible, that nothing incommoded his garrison so much as the small space they possessed, being shut up in little close houses, and on a tract of ground, whose whole circuit did not exceed 200 fathoms, where they could neither walk nor perform the least exercise; and where their horses, having scarce any room for motion, became sluggish, and incapable of service. To remedy this inconvenience, he had recourse to the following expedient. He converted the largest house in the place, the extent of which did not exceed twenty-one feet, into a kind of hall for exercise. This he consigned to the men, and ordered them to walk in it very gently at first; they were afterwards to double their pace by degrees, and at last were to exert the most vigorous motions. He then took the following method for the horses. He suspended them, one after another, in strong slings, which were disposed under their breasts, and from thence inserted into rings fastened to the roof of the stable; after which he caused them to be raised into the air by the aid of pullies, and in such a manner, that only their hinder feet rested on the ground, while the extreme parts of the hoofs of their fore-feet could hardly touch it. In this condition, the grooms lashed them severely with their whips, which tormented the horses to such a degree, and forced them

them into such violent agitations, that their bodies were all covered with sweat and foam. After this exercise, which was finely calculated to strengthen and keep them in wind, and likewise to render their limbs supple and pliant, their barley was given to them very clean, and winnowed from all the chaff, that they might eat it the sooner, and with less difficulty. The abilities of a good general extend to every thing about him, and are seen in the minutest particulars.

* The siege, or, more properly, the blockade of Nora, did not prevent Antigonus from undertaking a new expedition into Pisidia, against Alcetas and Attalus: the last of whom was taken prisoner in a battle, and the other slain by treachery in the place to which he retired.

† During these transactions in Asia, Ptolemy, seeing of what importance Syria, Phœnicia, and Judæa were, as well for covering Egypt, as for making proper dispositions on that side for the invasion of Cyprus, which he had then in view, determined to make himself master of these provinces, which were governed by Laomedon. With this intention he sent Nicanor into Syria with a body of land-forces, while he himself set out with a fleet to attack the coasts. Nicanor defeated Laomedon, and took him prisoner; in consequence of which he soon conquered the inland country. Ptolemy had the same advantages on the coasts; by which means he came absolute master of those provinces. The princes in alliance with him were alarmed at the rapidity of these conquests; but Antipater was at too great a distance, being then in Macedonia; and Antigonus was too much employed against Eumenes, to oppose these great accessions to the power of Ptolemy, who gave them no little jealousy.

‡ After the defeat of Laomedon, the Jews were the only people who made any resistance. They were duly sensible of the obligation they were under, by the oath they had taken to their governor, and were determined to continue faithful to him. Ptolemy advanced into Judæa, and formed the siege of Jerusalem. This city was so strong by its advantageous situation, in conjunction with the works of art, that it would have sustained a long siege, had it not been for the religious fear the Jews entertained of violating the law, by which they were prohibited to defend themselves on the Sabbath. Ptolemy was not long unacquainted with this particular; and, in order to improve the great advantage it gave him, he chose that day for the general assault; and as no

* A. M. 3685. Ant. J. C. 319. † Diod. p. 621, 622.
‡ Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1.

individual

individual among the Jews would presume to defend himself, the city was taken without difficulty.

Ptolemy at first treated Jerusalem and Judæa with great severity, for he carried above 100,000 of the inhabitants captives into Egypt; but when he afterwards considered the steadiness with which they had persisted in the fidelity they had sworn to their governors, on this and a variety of other occasions, he was convinced, that this quality rendered them more worthy of his confidence; and he accordingly chose 30,000 of the most distinguished among them, who were most capable of serving him, and appointed them to guard the most important places in his dominions.

* Much about this time Antipater fell sick in Macedonia. The Athenians were greatly dissatisfied with the garrison he had left in their city, and had frequently pressed Phocion to go to the court of that prince, and solicit him to recall those troops; but he always declined that commission, either through a despair of not succeeding, or else because he was conscious, that the fear of this garrison was the best expedient for keeping them within the bounds of their duty. Demades, who was not so difficult to be prevailed upon, undertook the commission with pleasure, and immediately set out with his son for Macedonia. But his arrival in that country could not have happened at a more fatal conjuncture for himself. Antipater, as I have already intimated, was seized with a severe illness; and his son Cassander, who was absolute master of all affairs, had lately intercepted a letter which Demades had written to Antigonus in Asia, pressing him to come as soon as possible, and make himself master of Greece and Macedonia; "which," as he expressed himself, "were held together "only by a thread, and even an old rotten thread," ridiculing Antipater by those expressions. As soon as Cassander saw them appear at court, he caused them both to be arrested; and he himself seizing the son first, stabbed him before the face of his father, and at so little distance from him, that he was covered with his blood. After which he reproached him with his perfidy and ingratitude, and when he had loaded him with insults, he also killed him with his own hands on the dead body of his son. It was impossible that such a barbarous proceeding should not be detested; but mankind are not much disposed to pity such a wretch as Demades, who had dictated the decree by which Demosthenes and Hyperides were condemned to die.

The indisposition of Antipater proved fatal to him, and his

* Diod. l. xviii. p. 625, 626. Plut. in Phoc. p. 755.

last

laſt attention was employed in filling up the two great ſtations which he enjoyed. His ſon Caſſander was very deſirous of them, and expected to have them conferred upon him; notwithſtanding which, Antipater beſtowed the regency of the kingdom, and the government of Macedonia, on Polyſperchon, the moſt ancient of all the ſurviving captains of Alexander, and thought it ſufficient to aſſociate Caſſander with him in thoſe employments.

I am at a loſs to determine, whether any inſtance of human conduct was ever greater, or more to be admired, than this which I have now related in few words; nothing certainly could be more extraordinary, and hiſtory affords us few inſtances of the ſame nature. It was neceſſary to appoint a governor over Macedonia, and a regent of the empire. Antipater, who knew the importance of thoſe ſtations, was perſuaded that his own glory and reputation, and, what was ſtill more prevalent with him, the intereſt of the ſtate, and the preſervation of the Macedonian monarchy, obliged him to nominate a man of authority, and one reſpected for his age, experience, and paſt ſervices. He had a ſon who was not void of merit; how rare and difficult therefore, but at the ſame time how amiable and glorious was it to ſelect, on ſuch an occaſion, no man but the moſt deſerving, and beſt qualified to ſerve the public effectually; to extinguiſh the voice of nature; turn a deaf ear to all her remonſtrances, and not ſuffer the judgment to be ſeduced by the impreſſions of paternal affection; in a word, to continue ſo much maſter of one's penetration, as to render juſtice to the merit of a ſtranger, and openly prefer it to that of a ſon, and ſacrifice all the intereſt of one's own family to the public welfare! Hiſtory has tranſmitted to us an expreſſion of the emperor Galba, which will do honour to his memory throughout all ages, "Auguſtus*, ſaid he, "choſe a ſucceſſor out of his own family; "and I one from the whole empire."

Caſſander was extremely enraged at the affront, which, as he pretended, had been offered him by this choice; and thought in that reſpect, like the generality of men, who are apt to look upon the employments they poſſeſs as hereditary, and with this flattering perſuaſion, that the ſtate is of no conſequence in compariſon with themſelves: never examining what is requiſite to the poſts they enjoy, or whether they have competent abilities to ſuſtain them, and conſidering only whether thoſe poſts are agreeable to their fortune. Caſſander, not being able to digeſt his father's preferring a ſtranger before him, endeavoured to form a party againſt

* Auguſtus in domo ſucceſſorem quæſivit; ego in republica. Tacit. hiſt. l. i. 15.

the new regent. He alſo ſecured to himſelf all the places he could in the government of that officer, as well in Greece as in Macedonia, and propoſed nothing leſs than to diveſt him of the whole.

*To this effect, he endeavoured to engage Ptolemy and Antigonus in his party; and they readily eſpouſed it with the ſame views, and from the ſame motives. It was equally their intereſt to deſtroy this new regent, as well as the regency itſelf, which always kept them in apprehenſions, and reminded them of their ſtate of dependency. They likewiſe imagined, that it ſecretly reproached them for aſpiring at ſovereignty, while it cheriſhed the rights of the two pupils, and left the governors in a ſituation of uncertainty, in conſequence of which they were perpetually in fear of being diveſted of their power. Both the one and the other believed it would be eaſy for them to ſucceed in their deſigns, if the Macedonians were once engaged at home in a civil war.

The death of Antipater had rendered Antigonus the moſt powerful of all the captains of Alexander. His authority was abſolute in all the provinces of Aſia Minor, in conjunction with the title of generaliſſimo, and an army of 70,000 men, and 30 elephants, which no power in the empire was, at that time, capable of reſiſting. It cannot, therefore, be thought ſurpriſing, that this ſuperiority ſhould inſpire him with the deſign of engroſſing the whole monarchy of the Macedonians; and, in order to ſucceed in that attempt, he began with making a reformation in all the governments of the provinces within his juriſdiction, diſplacing all thoſe perſons whom he ſuſpected, and ſubſtituting his creatures in their room. In the conduct of this ſcheme, he removed Aridæus from the government of Leſſer Phrygia and the Helleſpont, and Clytus from that of Lydia.

†Polyſperchon neglected nothing, on his part, that was neceſſary to ſtrengthen his intereſt; and thought it adviſeable to recall Olympias, who had retired into Epirus under the regency of Antipater, with the offer of ſharing his authority with her. This princeſs diſpatched a courier to Eumenes, to conſult him on the propoſal ſhe had received; and he adviſed her to wait ſome time in order to ſee what turn affairs would take; adding, that if ſhe determined to return to Macedonia, he would recommend it to her in particular, to forget all the injuries ſhe thought ſhe had received; that it alſo would be her intereſt to govern with moderation, and to make others ſenſible of her authority by benefactions,

* Diod. p. 630. † Died. l. xviii. p. 626. 634. Cor. Nep. in Eumen. c. 6.

and

and not by ſeverity. As to all other particulars, he promiſed an inviolable attachment to herſelf and the royal family. Olympias did not conform to theſe judicious counſels in any reſpect, but ſet out as ſoon as poſſible for Macedonia; where, upon her arrival, ſhe conſulted nothing but her paſſions, and her inſatiable deſire of dominion and revenge.

Polyſperchon, who had many enemies upon his hands, endeavoured to ſecure Greece, of which he foreſaw Caſſander would attempt to make himſelf maſter. He alſo took meaſures with relation to other parts of the empire, as will appear by the ſequel.

* In order to engage the Greeks in his intereſt, he iſſued a decree, by which he recalled the exiles, and reinſtated all the cities in their ancient privileges. He acquainted the Athenians in particular by letters, that the king had re-eſtabliſhed their democracy and ancient form of government, by which the Athenians were admitted without diſtinction into public offices. This was a ſtrain of policy calculated to enſnare Phocion; for Polyſperchon intending to make himſelf maſter of Athens, as was evident in a ſhort time, he deſpaired of ſucceeding in that deſign, unleſs he could find ſome expedient to procure the baniſhment of Phocion, who had favoured and introduced oligarchy under Antipater; and he was therefore certain of accompliſhing this ſcheme, as ſoon as thoſe who had been excluded from the government, ſhould be reinſtated in their ancient rights.

* Diod. p. 631, 632.

END OF VOLUME FIFTH.